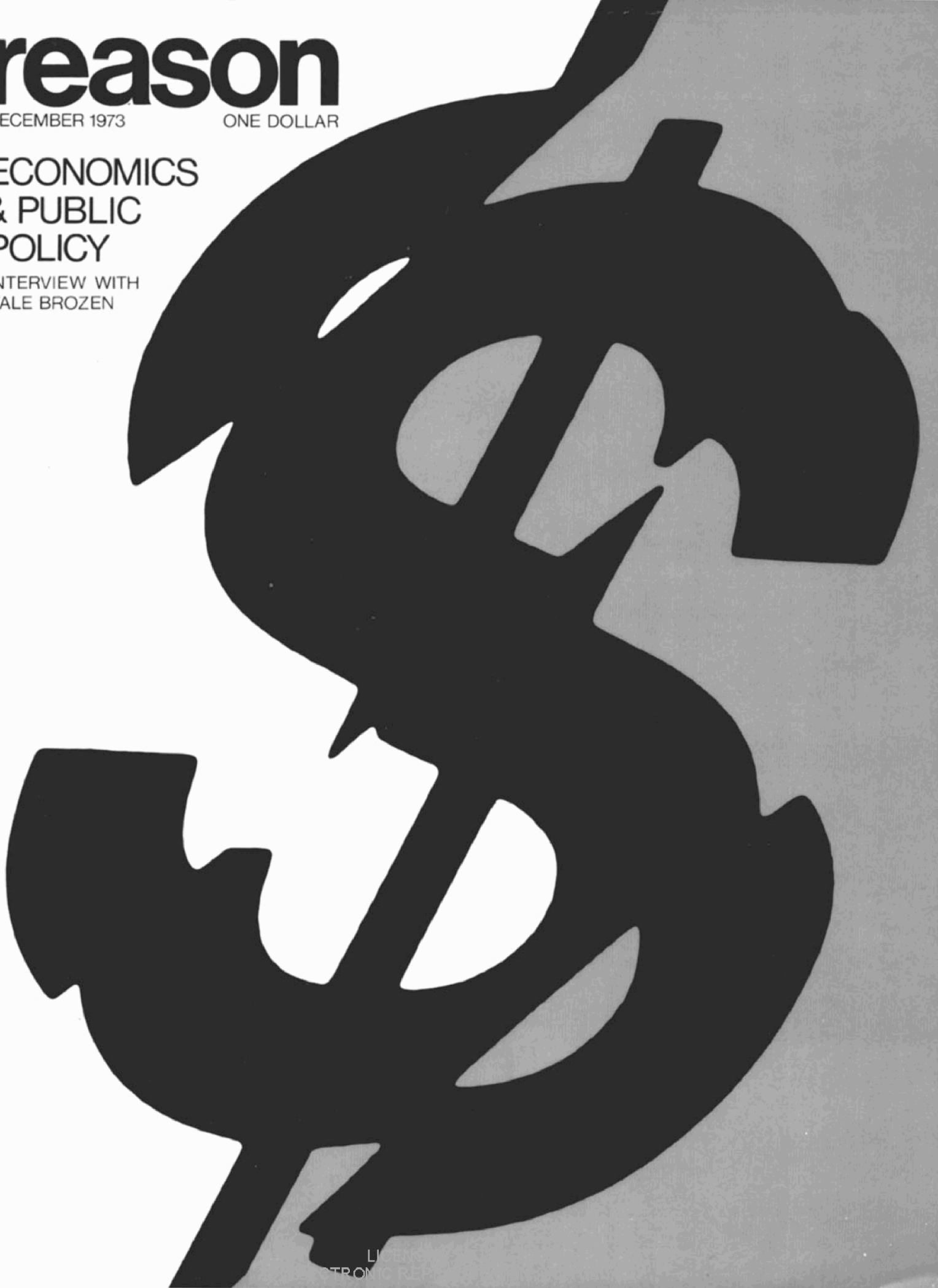
reason

DECEMBER 1973 ONE DOLLAR

ECONOMICS & PUBLIC POLICY

INTERVIEW WITH YALE BROZEN



Hans Kreider Flees Europe!

The Year 1873 - Hans Kreider, German Craftsman, flees to America to escape the death of freedom in his homeland.
The Year 1973 - Hank Kreider, Hans' great grandson, and a skilled machinist ponders the fate of freedom in America.

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Last year Hank paid out a total of 38% of his income in federal, state and local taxes to support programs that waste billions of dollars a year.

A neighborhood movie theatre was closed down last week for showing an allegedly obscene movie. Also, a local radio station in Hank's country lost it's broadcasting license for urging resistance to the compulsory census.

Hank's brother was drafted and died in Vietnam fighting a senseless war while over half of Hank's tax money continues to go to support a wasteful military establishment and subsidize ineffective defense corporations.

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December 1973/Vol. 5, No. 8

Selected for distribution to members of Society for Individual Liberty

ISSN 0048-6906

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ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC POLICY:
An Interview with Yale Brozen / Tibor Machan and J. M. Cobb / page 4

NO, VIRGINIA, THERE IS NO SANTA CLAUS
By Dennis J. Chase / page 13

REQUIEM FOR A GIANT
By F. Paul Wilson / page 15

THE OTHER WORLD
By Robert Greenwood / page 18

ANNOUNCING REASON PAPERS / page 23

EDITORIAL / Robert Poole, Jr.
Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn / page 24

MONEY / Davis Keeler
Banks and Secrecy / page 25

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT
South Africa / Marc Swanepoel / page 26

BOOK REVIEW / Richard de Mille
The Imperial Animal / page 29

MOVIES / Charles F. Barr
Kid Blue; Your Three Minutes Are Up; Electra Glide in Blue / page 30

VIEWPOINT / Tibor R. Machan
On the Growth of "States" / page 32

TRENDS / Robert Poole, Jr. / page 34

PUBLISHER'S NOTES / page 36

FRONTLINES / Lynn Kinsky / page 38

REASON PROFILE
Sy Leon / page 39

LETTERS / page 39

RUDEBARBS / Randall K. Hylkema / page 40

CLASSIFIEDS / page 42

REASON is published monthly by Reason Enterprises, 294 Via El Encantador, Santa Barbara, California 93111. Tel (805) 964-4131. Second class postage paid at Santa Barbara, California, and at additional mailing offices. Copyright © 1973 by Reason Enterprises. All rights reserved.

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single copies, $1.00; Special Issues, $1.50. *REASON* publishes two Special Issues annually which are sent to subscribers at no extra cost. Subscriptions: one year (12 issues) in the United States, $9.00; 2 years, $17.00; 3 years, $25.00. Other countries: one year, $10.00; 2 years, $19.00; 3 years, $28.00.

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Economics and Public Policy:
An Interview with Yale Brozen

The extent of economic ignorance in America today is staggering. Despite volumes of theory and many years of experience, most people still believe a whole variety of economic myths: that wage and price controls can stop inflation, that government regulatory agencies protect consumers, that "concentrated" industries charge monopolistic prices, that tariffs protect a nation's industries, that minimum wage laws help the poor, that advertising results in higher product prices, etc. The continued belief in this mythology has been abetted, if not fostered, by an economics profession whose basic political premises were heavily interventionist.

Within the last several decades, however, a strong new voice has been heard from within the economics profession. Economists of what has come to be called the "Chicago School" began stressing a rigorously empirical approach to the subject, arguing that questions of moral and political judgement, while important, are not *economic questions. Freed from interventionist blinders, the Chicago School pioneers proceeded to re-examine many of the prevailing dogmas, collecting extensive data and subjecting hypotheses to rigorous statistical tests. The result has been a whole new "revisionist" economics that has knocked the props out from under much of the case for government intervention in the economy.*

The influence of the Chicago School is growing rapidly; indeed, it might today be called the Chicago-UCLA-Rochester-Virginia Polytechnic-Washington School, to name a few of the economics departments with a heavy Chicago orientation. The JOURNAL OF LAW AND ECONOMICS, of the University of Chicago Law School, has become one of the country's most important scholarly journals. And a number of Chicago economists have served or are serving in high places in the Nixon Administration.

One of the leading lights of the Chicago School is Yale Brozen. Professor Brozen's career as a scholar, researcher, and teacher of economics spans many years, but most of them have been spent at the University of Chicago. He received his Ph.D. from Chicago, taught at the Universities of Florida, Minnesota, and Northwestern University, and returned to the University of Chicago in 1957 where he has been professor of Business Economics at the Graduate School of Business ever since. His contributions to economics are numerous; he is one of the most prolific writers within the profession. His research has covered such wide-ranging areas as automation, capital accumulation, welfare, research and development, government regulation, wage and price controls, minimum wage legislation, deficits, advertising . . . on and on, through the entire field of economics, micro and macro.

Dr. Brozen is not timid about his political preferences. He is a classical liberal who considers the encroachment of government on people's lives harmful—the more the worse. But he does believe that one's activities as a researcher and scholar should be as free as possible of influences based on beliefs he may have in other areas of importance.

REASON's *interview with Prof. Brozen was carried out early in 1973, in the Conference Room of the Graduate School of Business. Prof. Brozen managed to find 2½ hours in his extremely busy schedule—teaching, lecturing, preparing an anthology on industrial organization—to sit down and talk with Senior Editor Tibor Machan and Joe Michael Cobb, former editor of the* NEW INDIVIDUALIST REVIEW. *Cheerful and energetic as always, Brozen proved an engaging subject, as the discussion ranged over a wide variety of topics.*

REASON: The Nixon administration has apparently been trying to phase out wage and price controls, first via the Phase III debacle, and most recently by lifting most of the Phase IV price freeze. What do you think is their motivation for doing this?

BROZEN: Well, they're running into some problems with the fact that the controlled prices have been misdirecting resources. To give a very small example, with the ceiling price on molasses in the U.S.,

Photos/Marty Zupan

molasses was not becoming available for use in feed for chickens. Instead it was being sent to Japan from the sources around the world which normally would have sent molasses to the U.S., because the price in Japan was 20% higher than the ceiling price in the U.S. The consequence was that it looked like chickens were going to become more expensive for lack of molasses in their feed. That's a small example, but it's the kind of thing that's proliferating and multiplying all over an economy that's beginning to run into bottlenecks in various places. Without prices doing the job of appropriately rationing and directing resources, you're going to get that kind of misallocation.

Another kind of misallocation is what you see in the lumber industry where lumber was being sent from one section of the country to another because that particular lumber supplier was under a price ceiling, such that it didn't pay him to deal with local buyers. The local buyers were then having to "import" lumber from another section of the country where the price ceiling was such that the suppliers there were willing to export lumber. The consequence was a great deal of cross-hauling of lumber because of these different price ceilings, with a waste of the resources involved, and consumption of extra transportation resources.

REASON: Did these events and factors bring about the change of policy on the part of the Nixon administration?

BROZEN: Oh sure. The Price Commission was running into these sorts of problems all along, but now that we're getting into a multiplicity of bottleneck situations, they're getting dozens of them coming in at one time and you just can't handle that kind of thing under any sort of general rules or limited decision-making capacity. The free market has the virtue of using *everybody's* decision-making capacity and using local knowledge that isn't available to any central authority—using dispersed capacity for decision-making that can handle far more problems than any attempt to centralize the handling of problems in one bureau, with one commission.

REASON: Do you think that the Price Commission is serious in seeking "voluntary compliance"?

BROZEN: To talk about seeking voluntary compliance is to suggest that people have control over their particular prices. In fact, there *isn't* very much control over prices by private organizations in the U.S. You do have public utility commissions that control quite specific prices—you do have a Post Office and Postal Commission to control postal prices—but when you're talking about the price of bread, meat and potatoes, automobiles, washing machines, and television sets, or lumber, steel, chrome, zinc, and nickel, you're not talking about prices where any one person has control over it, though sometimes there's a very visible person who makes an announcement that we're raising prices this week. But he's simply announcing what's really going on in the market. He's not controlling the price and to say that we're going to have voluntary compliance is to act as if there's somebody in each of these things who voluntarily can make the price behave in some particular way. That may be true in some cases, like public utility commissions or major labor unions that have been given power by the government. But where a great deal of power has not been conveyed to somebody by governmental sources of this kind, there just isn't any control, there isn't any such thing as voluntary compliance.

Let me just illustrate this—take the automobile industry. General Motors announces a price increase or decrease. Now let us suppose that General Motors

The free market has the virtue of using everybody's *decision-making capacity and using local knowledge that isn't available to any central authority.*

or Ford or Chrysler were to voluntarily refrain from marking up the list prices that they put on the stickers on automobiles, at a time when there's demand for automobiles that's outrunning the supply. What do you think's going to happen? Do you think the market price is going to be affected by what General Motors puts on the sticker? You know they tried that in 1945 and 1946. Ford, General Motors and Chrysler put on sticker prices that were low and at those sticker prices the rate of demand exceeded the rate of supply. So did the market price become those sticker prices? It sure didn't. You'd walk into an automobile dealer and say, "I'd like a car delivered today or tomorrow," and the automobile dealer would look at you and smile sadly and say, "Well, I'll be glad to put you on the waiting list and maybe we'll deliver a car to you in eighteen months." So then perhaps you would bet him $500 he couldn't deliver one that afternoon. And the automobile dealer would smile happily and say, "You just lost your bet," and take an automobile that was going to be delivered to somebody else on the list and deliver it to you for $500 over. And in effect the market price is $500 over those sticker prices. General Motors couldn't stop automobile dealers and people from betting—bidding the price up by $500 in order to *get* the automobile they wanted, *whatever* sticker prices they put on.

On the other hand, in times when demand is weak relative to the supply, those automobiles don't sell above or *at* the sticker price—they sell below the sticker price. The automobile dealer will way, "Well the price is what it says on the sticker," and you say "Well, sorry, I don't want to buy a car at that price," and he being desperate for business will say, "Well, let's talk about it." And so you end up with a price that's been reduced 10% or 15% or sometimes even 20% below the sticker price depending upon the state of demand. *They* don't control the price—the market controls the price.

REASON: Is it a fair assessment of the Nixon administration that it is more likely to yield to market indicators than say a McGovern administration might have?

BROZEN: Oh, I think just observing behavior in the groups that we have had around I'd say the Nixon administration is more likely to yield or to let the market operate. The fact that we got price controls, mandatory price controls in August of 1971, is, if you like, an indication of that. Sure. Mr. Nixon announced that here we are with price controls, but any other administration would have yielded to the pressure at least a year sooner if not two years. And I'd say that it took a very stiff-backed administration to hold out as long as this administration held out against the pressures to impose price controls.

REASON: The political pressures?

BROZEN: Political pressures, informal pressures, pressures from newspapers, from businessmen, from unions, pressures via the polls taken from the voters—in the polls 75% to 80% are in favor of price controls. Well, should Mr. Nixon be the dictator and resist the will of the electorate? He resisted until the pressures simply got too strong.

REASON: Shortly after the 1971 freeze announcements were made, Professor Galbraith came out in *NEW YORK* magazine and labeled Mr. Nixon a socialist of a certain sort. Do you think that's a premature comment on the part of the professor?

BROZEN: Well, yes and no. You might say any president today is a socialist of a certain sort because the electorate is socialistic to some extent and any president has to be somewhat of a politician. The electorate gets about the kind of government it wants—more or less.

REASON: That brings me to an issue that we touched upon one time in a conversation. You had once said that progress towards decontrolling the economy would be very difficult due to the nature of bureaucracy, even if a President and Congress with substantial designs toward that end were to be elected in the near future. Would you elaborate on this observation?

BROZEN: Well. You've got some prime examples of an attempt to make progress. And reactions to those attempts. The President's suspension of the Davis/Bacon Act in February of 1971, for instance. The Davis/Bacon Act in effect has the wage determination unit in the Department of Labor setting minimum wage rates for various crafts working on government-financed or government-assisted projects—and that incidentally is about one-third of all construction in the U.S. In effect then, suspension of Davis/Bacon was an attempt to move toward letting the market operate, and yet Congress' immediate reaction was to start to hold hearings on removing the President's power to suspend the Davis/Bacon Act.

Earlier, George Schultz, when he was Secretary of Labor, had been very concerned about the kinds of

wage determinations that were being made under the Davis/Bacon Act—concerned because it seemed to him that the wage determination unit was violating what the law provides. The law provides that the minimum wage shall be the prevailing wage in the political subdivision of the state in which the work is to be done. Well, in fact, the wage determination unit *didn't* take an average of the wages in the area—what they usually took was the union rates in the area, provided that the union rates were being paid to more than 30% of the work force in the area. Well, Schultz tried to do something about getting the wage determination unit to follow the law. He removed them from reporting to the Solicitor General, Department of Labor and had them report directly to the Secretary. And nevertheless the wage determinations continued to come out in exactly the same way they'd always come out before. That bureaucracy was so thoroughly imbued with this notion that its task was just to get the highest wage rates they could get imposed every time a government contract was let, so it didn't make any difference who was in charge—they went charging on their merry way.

REASON: Would that lead you to a mitigated pessimism with respect to the idea of moving in a more free-market direction?

BROZEN: Well, yes, I'm pessimistic. Until the electorate gets *educated* we're going to continue to get movements in the same directions.

In a fairly recent move the President suspended the Rural Electrification Administration's right to borrow money from the Treasury at 2%. Much of the money borrowed at 2%, incidentally, they turned around and reinvested in government bonds sold to raise the money. And the Treasury had to sell the government bonds at 6-3/4% yields. So it's very nice to borrow money at 2% to go out and buy 6-3/4% bonds. Last time I looked the REA had something like $100,000,000 invested in federal bonds that had been issued to finance this 2% money they were getting. Well now the President has suspended the REA's right to draw money at 2% saying, "You're going to have to sell your own bonds directly through the market, you're going to have to pay the 7-1/2%, 8%, 8-3/4% depending on the class of bonds, the terms, etc. You're going to have to pay something approaching a market rate for your money and you can go borrow directly." Several senators got a move started in Congress right away to do something about the President suspending the REA's right to borrow the 2%. That's the reaction.

REASON: With respect to educating the electorate, do you have in mind some of the work that has been going on at the University of Chicago?

BROZEN: Yes. Some of the *other* work required is that you get a bigger subscription list to your magazine. *REASON* doesn't go to enough people and isn't educating enough people.

REASON: Well, we'll *have* to consider that piece of advice. Let us turn to the prospects now. What is your assessment of the near term possibility of making some major inroads in disbanding the plethora of regulatory agencies—bodies that abound on all levels of government? What areas of control do you feel would be most susceptible to reform?

BROZEN: Well, in terms of disbanding various controlling agencies, a minor move was made by the Administration introducing a transportation bill last year. The transportation bill was intended in part to cut back on some of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission—and they're very minor powers that it would cut back. The Interstate Commerce Commission was to have its power to prevent railroads from abandoning branch lines limited, for instance. It was to have its power to limit the entry of new trucking companies and to limit runs between various cities transporting freight reduced a bit—a few minor changes. Well, the Congressional committees through which that bill was started just sort of threw it in the wastebasket and the American Trucking Association and Association of American Railroads, and American Barge Line Association, etc., proceeded to get together to put in a bill of their own to give the Interstate Commerce Commission additional regulatory powers going exactly in the opposite direction from the powers which Mr. Nixon had proposed. That bill looked like it was going to have a far better chance of passing than the bill that Mr. Nixon had to offer.

Any president today is a socialist of a sort because the electorate is socialistic.

You know, I think back to 1929 . . . Mr. Hoover proposed and offered a bill in Congress to reduce American tariffs. If you remember your history, the net result was the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Bill which *raised* American tariffs on practically everything across the board and brought additional things under tariff protection that had been on the free list before. Now that's the kind of thing that can happen when you propose to decontrol—the interests get together and you end up going in the opposite direction from where you intended to go. That's why I'm a little frightened of trying to move in the direction of saying, "Well, we at the top know what should be done and are going to go ahead and push through the appropriate changes in Congress or by presidential

directive or what have you," because you create, call it a backlash if you will, and you end up in a worse situation than you were in before. You've got to begin down at the electorate first.

REASON: In reference to reaching the electorate at colleges and universities, since the Chicago School of economics now has a substantial reputation, would you summarize the basic difference between Chicagoans and Keynesians?

BROZEN: Well I suppose the basic difference is that any time somebody puts forth a hypothesis we say, well, how do you *know* that's so? And we go and try to find out if that hypothesis seems to check with the way in which the world operates. Now Mr. Keynes put out a hypothesis, for example, that business cycles are generated by changes in the levels of spending, in particular by changes in governmental deficits and business investment, and also by changes in the rates at which people save. And so, the reaction around Chicago is "Well, how do you *know* that's so?" And we go out and we'll look at some data and try and see if the world behaves in the way that's postulated by the specific hypotheses offered.

REASON: Are you saying that Keynes didn't look hard enough? Or that he didn't even consider *looking* as part of his approach?

BROZEN: Well, any economist, you know, is aware of things going on. And Mr. Keynes was certainly aware of that and the relations that were involved in a sort of general, nonspecific way. You know, he obviously wouldn't have offered hypotheses to account for unemployment, for instance, if there wasn't any unemployment around. But he's noticing that in fact there's a hell of a lot of unemployment around and he's noticing some other facts like the rate of investment's very low, etc. So he puts some things together in what seems to be a reasonable assemblage, in a way that can be accounted for by some sort of hypotheses that tend to make order out of this melange of data, impressions, etc.

Well you might say that *we're* just a little more systematic about checking, so we proceed to systematically assemble the data in meaningful ways to see whether or not it accords with what has been predicted by that hypothesis. And it turned out that what the data said was that the world wasn't acting anything like the way Mr. Keynes had suggested, at least not the U.S. world. Mr. Keynes had been observing the English world and the English world *was* behaving in that way, although we've been doing some checking, and although the English world seems to have behaved that way somewhat during the 30's it certainly hasn't in more recent years.

There is no disagreement between Chicagoans and Austrians on the power and importance of theory.

REASON: There is a dispute, which we understand you are not directly party to, between the Chicago economists (or Chicago hangers-on) and the Austrian economists (or Austrian hangers-on). Now one of the contentions of the Austrians is that there are certain *a priori* laws; basic, fundamental principles of economic analysis, which the economists can't do without, and there're no ifs, ands, or buts about it. Do you believe anything like that enters in at all within the methodology of empirical economists, such as the Chicagoans?

BROZEN: Well, empirical work doesn't mean a damn thing without theory to formulate the kind of regressions that you're going to be using. You know, what would you *expect* to have a relationship to something else? You don't expect the number of seals in the Bering Straits to have a relationship to the amount of bread that somebody in Atlanta, Georgia is going to be buying for dinner tonight. So you've got to have some theory—you just don't muck around with all the data and try to assemble what we call *ad hoc* relationships that are totally meaningless. Sure, you can find *ad hoc* relationships that get very high correlation coefficients. But what you find out about these *ad hoc* relationships is that they turn out to be lousy predictors of next week because there's no reason for these particular *ad hoc* relationships—

REASON: You mean, no *explanatory* capacity?

BROZEN: Yes, so you've got to have some theory to begin with to lead you to know what to look for. What pieces of data are relevant. There's no disagreement between Chicagoans and Austrians on the power and importance of theory. And as far as that's concerned perhaps there's even no disagreement on the importance of tautological kinds of definitions. The thing is that as far as doing any testing is concerned, the tautological relationships are next to impossible to test except by introspection. And I'm very leery of an introspective approach to trying to discover how the world is going to behave because I find somehow *my* gut doesn't react exactly like everybody else's gut.

A friend and I were sitting around the other night talking about the economics of advertising and I was saying that it just seems to me to be perfectly obvious

that if I as an advertiser am going to spend some money on advertising that I'm not interested in advertising to the customers I've already got. I expect I have those customers because they're satisfied with the product that I'm producing here. And so I'm going to use my money as an advertiser to create disloyalty whereas the standard textbook description is that advertising creates loyalty of customers to a company and then that becomes a barrier to the entry of other companies. I just can't see that for beans because it seems to me that as an advertiser, introspecting myself as to how I'm going to behave, I am going to spend my money trying to get the customers I don't have. And my friend responded, "Oh, but you know when I hear an advertisement for the car that I'm driving that makes me proud of the fact that I've got that car that I'm driving, or that I'm shaving with the electric razor they're talking about in that ad, that makes me more loyal." But you know I just don't react that way.

REASON: Would you summarize for us your criticisms of the various popular characterizations of advertising as a general economic phenomenon?

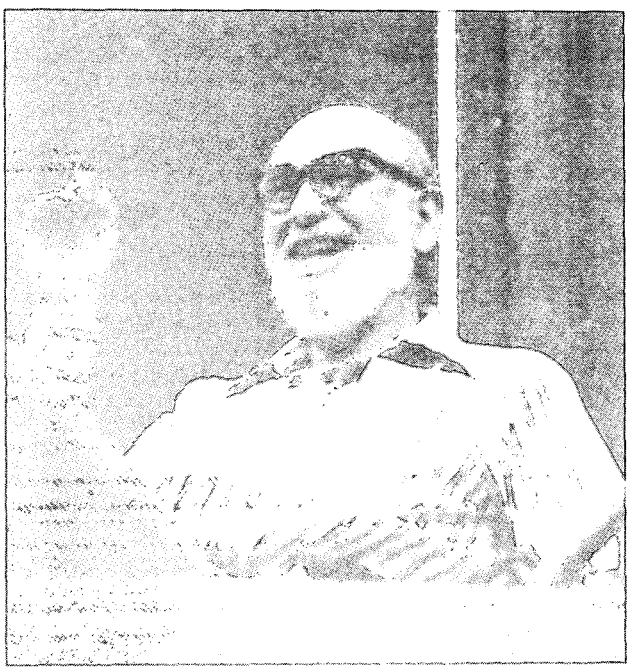
BROZEN: Well, here's one of the advantages of data, at least, as far as the empirical approach is concerned. I can say till I'm blue in the face that advertising does not add to the cost of the product, that advertising *decreases* the cost of the product, and these are simple assertions that I think there are very good *a priori* reasons for believing. And I think that if the Austrians and I were to sit down and talk together about my *a priori* reasons for believing that, I could perhaps convince them that that's true. But I *couldn't* do that with 90% of the economic profession who are not Austrians and who believe to the contrary, that advertising *does* raise the cost of products, that it *does* cause prices to be higher than they otherwise would be, and that it causes the people to spend money foolishly for higher priced products. And so I'll say, "All right, let's look at the data and see what it has to say." My colleague, Professor Lee Benham, says OK, let's look at the states where no advertising is allowed for eyeglasses and eye examinations and see what the prices are in those states, and then let's look at the states where, as it happens, there are no laws against advertising eyeglasses and eye examinations and see what prices we find in those states. And so here we'll get a test of whether advertising causes prices to be higher, etc., than they otherwise would be, because now we've gotten a couple of "laboratories" where they either do or do not permit advertising on the same product. And he goes and takes the data that happened to have been assembled in a national sample of medical costs in various states and what the people are paying for lots of things, including eyeglasses and eye examinations. And he finds that in his sample of thousands of people, in the states where there's no advertising allowed for eyeglasses plus eye examinations, they're paying $49.00. In the states where the advertising is allowed, they're paying $28.00. And then I cite this piece of empirical evidence, you see, "Here's some advertising and in the advertised case the price is $21.00 less than where advertising is not allowed."

Advertising does not add to the cost of the product; advertising decreases *the cost of the product.*

Incidentally Benham did go around asking a bunch of economists, "Now what do you expect will happen, what will I find when I look at the states where they do advertise and don't advertise?" and the great majority told him that they expected in the states where advertising was allowed the prices were going to be higher—that's what they expected. Turned out to be the reverse. Data then does something for helping you to demonstrate that your *a priori* reasoning is correct.

REASON: Last year the *NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE* ran an article by a zoologist who maintained a "spaceship earth theory" and argued for zero-growth type of economy. There are many books and articles that turn up here and there by people who are always wiser than the economist, advising the economist that his theories no longer hold because the world has changed. Do you have any thoughts on this view?

BROZEN: Oh, it's an old problem. Malthus worried about it a couple of centuries ago, that since



population has a geometric rate of increase and production has only an arithmetic rate of increase, the population would tend to outrun the means of subsistence. And you had this more modern version being touted in the 1950's when it was projected that at the current rates of population increase, by the year 2300 the population would outweigh the earth —an obvious physical impossibility—so therefore something had to be done about it. It leaves out the fact that we've got an *adaptive* mechanism such that, for example when people find that they're running out of living space so that living space is getting very valuable, the price of living space goes up. Then as the price of living space goes up maybe you choose to have fewer children because you don't have the space in which to comfortably live. We've got a pricing mechanism that gets people to adapt whatever preferences they have to whatever resources are available for satisfying those preferences.

REASON: That is, provided the pricing mechanism is allowed to function—in other words, when there is relatively greater freedom in the market than with central planning and controls.

BROZEN: Well, free markets keep breaking out of the controls that people try to impose on them. Pricing controls, when they get too far out of line with what the market wants to do, break down. And price controls generate the kind of market adaptations that force the breakdown. For instance, in 1945 there was a price control system in France that would have caused the people of Paris to starve to death if it had been allowed to go on. Well, in effect, the black markets took over and fed the people of Paris—the market assisted in the adaptation to prevent starvation in Paris.

We've got an energy crisis right now because they're controlling the price of natural gas, for instance, so you get such foolish activities as companies forced to sell domestic natural gas at 30 cents a thousand while at the same time making arrangements to buy it abroad at $1.10 a thousand and import it to make up for shortages. Well, if you're going to give things away, of course you're going to have shortages, because you don't have enough of everything to satisfy everybody's want for it. Now this situation on natural gas can go on for a long time and in effect you're going to get rationing to "preserve the price," by controls—mucked-up controls loaded upon more controls—trying to keep the price down, and the shortage getting worse and worse because a lot of people who want to buy gas can't get it and they'll be ruled as unworthy buyers who shouldn't get it.

But, to me, the more difficult problem is the case where you have a lot of property that is not being properly preserved because nobody owns it. Now take the Grand Banks Fisheries off Newfoundland.

Because nobody owns the Grand Banks, nobody is administering them in such a way as to use them efficiently, nobody is there charging fishing boats for the privilege of coming in to fish for the cod on Grand Banks. The consequence is that you get too many boats fishing and the total catch then becomes smaller than it would be if you had an efficiently operating pricing mechanism. And so the Grand Banks are being very much misutilized.

You get somewhat the same thing by using the air as a pollutant sink. As long as there were few enough pollutants being emitted that the air could efficiently take care of these various pollutants, it was a free good; there was no point in establishing property rights in the air. But now, air is becoming scarce for use of the pollutants, and so it's becoming a valuable piece of property which we've got to learn to use efficiently. Unfortunately no property rights are being established and nobody's charging for the use of the air and instead we're getting a law saying "Thou shalt keep thy emissions below a certain level." That's a terribly inefficient way of managing this. The result is that a lot of plants are closing down that should be allowed to operate but can't because it's too expensive for them to put in pollution control equipment. We *could* just charge for the use of the air and people could then sort themselves out as to whether it's cheaper to pay the price or cheaper to put the pollution control equipment in. So we could get our pollution control done very efficiently at the prices charged if somebody owned the air—or, if you like, if the government took over ownership and charged a price, called a tax if you want to, in those areas of the country where pollution is a problem.

REASON: Another area that many people are concerned about is the Ralph Nader syndrome. Those

who consider themselves interested in the free market see a paradox with Nader. On the one hand, Nader seems to be pointing out the failings of the FDA, FCC, FTC, ICC and the various other regulatory agencies. On the other hand, he suggests, despite these evident failings, the agencies should be made stronger, more virtuous and more efficient. So, on the whole, how do you see the contribution of Nader and his investigative groups to the overall progress toward deregulation?

BROZEN: Well, it's unfortunate that people listen to their policy conclusions. As you suggest, I would think that the appropriate policy conclusion to draw from his reports on the ICC, the FDA, etc., is to abolish these agencies. And I think it's misleading for him to try to make that logical leap with the consequence that, in effect, all the work he's done is going to worsen the situation rather than improve it.

Another instance from Nader where the policy conclusion that he suggests tends to worsen the situation, rather than improve it, is the seat belt issue. You know, he wrote his book *UNSAFE AT ANY SPEED* with his big pitch for making automobiles safer, etc. Now this should have been essentially a pitch at consumers saying to people, "Look, when you buy an automobile, buy a set of seatbelts with it and strap yourselves in so you'll be safer operating the automobile." But instead the conclusion comes out: Pass a law compelling every automobile to have sets of seat belts in them. Well, if all the effort at getting the law passed and getting the seat belts put in had been put into education—into informing the public as to the virtue of seat belts—you would have gotten greater usage of seat belts, then, out of that same effort. As it is, the number of people using seat belts now that all automobiles have them is exactly the same proportion as used seat belts before these laws were passed. Something like 25% of those who ride in automobiles put on their seat belts. The other 75% find them uncomfortable so now the government says all right, we'll pass a law compelling the manufacturers to put on buzzers and flashing lights to make it uncomfortable sitting in the car without the seat belt on so that you'll fasten the seat belt. So people have proceeded to fasten the seat belt under them and sit on the thing fastened, in order to keep the lights from flashing. And you know this is the kind of nonsense that you get then, an enormous amount of resources is spent to install seat belts that aren't being used. I can give you examples of other sorts of that type of thing too, whereas the same efforts spent on educating people to make them aware of what the differences are in accidents with and without seat belts would have gotten maybe 50% of the people using seat belts instead of 25% and *done* something. Instead of accomplishing the net effect of zero.

REASON: I assume that one of the goals, or at least hopes, of the Chicago School is that eventually more of its people would be getting closer to federal policy makers, and then their decisions would be a little wiser. Which brings me to ask you, what do you think is the overall influence of the Chicago School?

BROZEN: Well, I certainly think that there's already been an enormous shift among Keynesians, for instance, who now think that money has importance, too, along with the size of the deficit. And no self-respecting Keynesian today would ever take the kind of stance that the neo-Keynesians took in the 40's and early 50's, for instance, where in effect they just waved away the whole notion that money had any importance. Money was strictly a dependent variable, responding to other things in the economy. Now there's some recognition that there's some independent element in the money supply. The Keynesians did have some important things to say about the dependent aspects of the money supply—but nevertheless they went too far, you might say, in saying *no* independent aspects existed in the money supply. Now they recognize that there are independent effects, so Chicago theory has already had its influence on the neo-Keynesian school. It's also had its influence in that no self-respecting Wall Street firm can do without a Chicago graduate student in order to keep them tuned in on where the world is likely to go, because they found that the Keynesians they hired to tell them where the world was going to go led them pretty far astray, and they found the Chicagoans they hired—their pictures at least landed inside the ball park.

In 1945 there was a price control system in France that would have caused the people of Paris to starve to death if it had been allowed to go on.

REASON: Would you say that the Chicago students on the whole are aware that they are close to or even within the classical liberal tradition?

BROZEN: Well, you know, you're mistaken to think that the Chicago School *per se* is in the classical liberal tradition. The Chicago School is in a look-in-the-horse's-mouth-and-count-the-teeth tradition rather than sit-in-the-library-and-argue-about-it tradition. We are interested in doing respectable research. And it happens that respectable research often comes out with classical liberal conclusions. That's, you might say, purely fortuitous, except to the

If all the effort at getting the seat belt law passed had been put into education, you would have gotten greater usage of seat belts.

extent that the classical liberals had a pretty good sense of what the world's all about and having a pretty good sense of that, developed an economics that's a pretty good device for explaining how the world operates. And so it turns out that people who are doing respectable research now come out, on a lot of things, about where the classical liberals came out.

REASON: Who are classical liberals at Chicago?

BROZEN: Oh. George Stigler, for sure. Milton Friedman, three-quarters of the way. Milton is not completely in the classical liberal tradition. I'm in the classical liberal tradition in terms of when it comes to making decisions about what's an appropriate role for government—on the other hand when it comes to my economics, my economics are completely in terms of knowing what's efficient or inefficient and that's the value orientation of any economic advice that I have to give to people who ask me to do consulting—how do you do this more efficiently than less efficiently—and as an economist I don't have any values other than efficiency.

REASON: You know, one of the things that puzzles me, is that when, outside of the economic profession, people talk economics or pseudo-economics, almost inevitably certain Marxist overtones emerge. Today the Marxian overtones by the general intellectual community and the political community are clearly evident say in such journals as *COMMENTARY* or *HARPER'S* or *SATURDAY REVIEW,* certainly more so than classical liberal overtones. How do you account for that?

BROZEN: Well, that's not just today—take a look at some of the 19th century journals on some economic area. Some of them were quite avowedly socialistic at the time Marxism hadn't quite caught on—and I would say that Marx is a "product" of his age. His age was, as far as intellectual circles were concerned, pretty much a socialist age—the founders of the American Economics Association themselves were socialist. They wanted the Association to be devoted to propagating socialism.

REASON: Let me suggest this: I think it is true to say that Chicago and the few other places that favor the free market and classical liberal approach are probably the only places *in the world* right now that carry on one of the most unique discoveries in the history of human thought. Do you ever ponder the fact that you are in this tradition?

BROZEN: Oh sure. Look, any place that's had Frank Knight and Henry Simons around is going to be aware that they are in the classical liberal tradition. They thoroughly taught that. Of course, Chicago isn't the *only* place in the world where you're going to find strong elements of classical liberalism.

REASON: You have two children—Yale, nine and Reed, six—will they enjoy a culture of greater freedom than we now have or is there something one ought to do to prepare young children for dealing with the caprice and malice of the state?

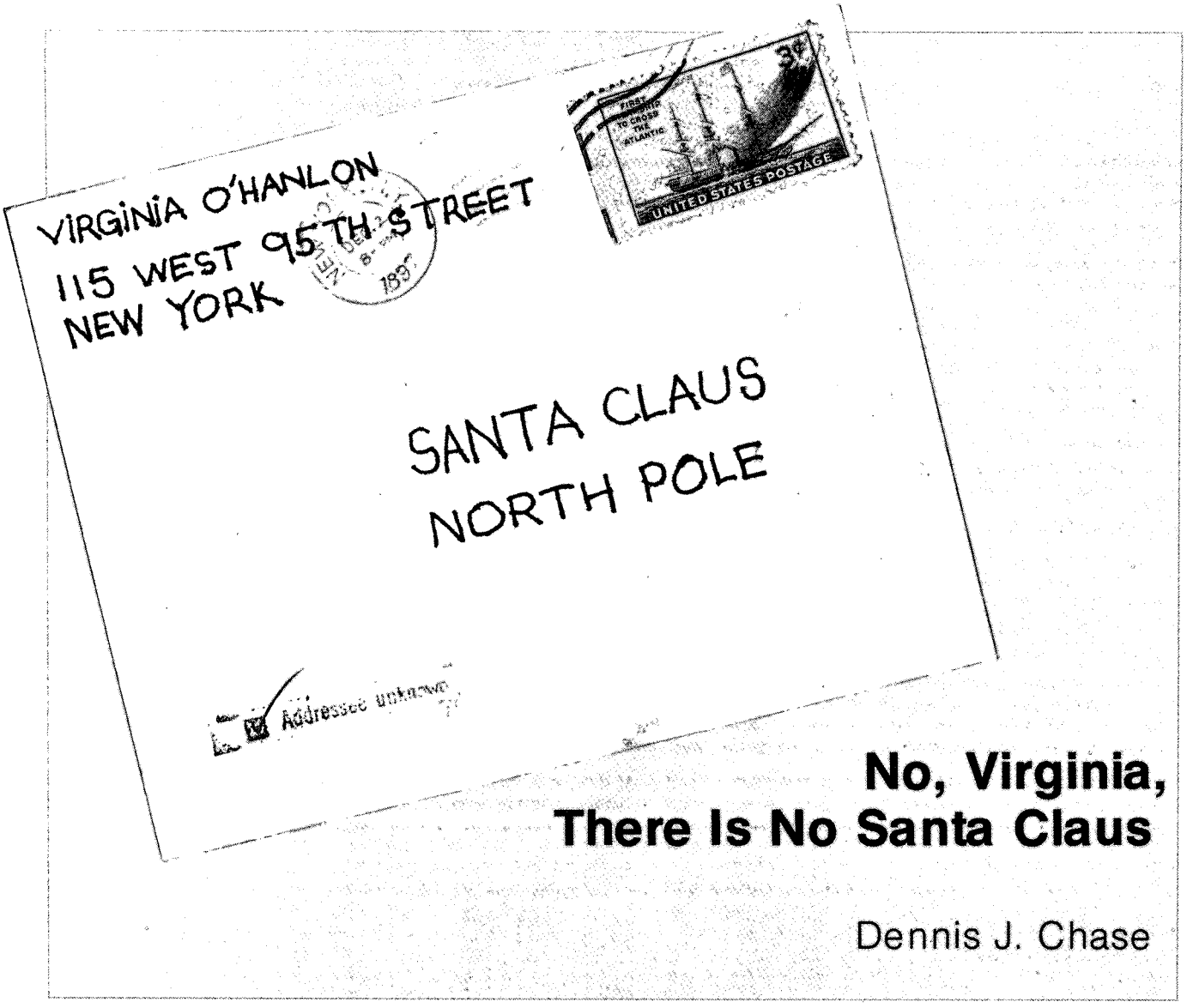
BROZEN: That's a very difficult question to answer, because on the one hand we can say the government is moving in more and more, and your range of choice in every area is being restricted by government intervention. On the other hand, the whole system is developing more and more opportunities that were impossible for 19th century man—just through the fact that technology is improving and opening up a wider range of choices, and due to the fact that as our incomes go up we have the means by which to choose a much wider range of things. How do you balance these off? I don't know. And so how you answer that question as to what my children will enjoy in the way of freedom—the kinds of freedoms that the government can impinge upon they'll have less, but the kinds of freedom that are provided by our technology, our ability, our managing to use our resources more efficiently—they'll have more freedom.

REASON: Thank you. You are very busy these days and we really appreciate your giving us this time. Thanks very much. ◻

THE GUARDED WOUND

If it
Were lighter touch
Than petal of flower resting
On grass, oh still too heavy it were,
Too heavy!

Adelaide Crappey



No, Virginia, There Is No Santa Claus

Dennis J. Chase

Seventy-five years ago, Virginia O'Hanlon, age 8, wrote to the editor of the *NEW YORK SUN* to settle her doubts about Santa Claus. Francis P. Church, an associate editor, published his reply which immortalized the line, "Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus." It has been reprinted possibly more times than any other single newspaper article.

But this traditional view of children, and of the place of Santa Claus in the Christmas season, has not gone unquestioned. In the early 1900s, Maria Montessori, the Italian educator, criticized the deliberate deception of children by such "little lies" as Santa Claus. "One of the most important tasks of the good mother is to inculcate in her child the habit of telling the truth," she wrote. "[F]rom a single lie [comes] a long series of wrong acts." Currently only Lee Salk, a New York professor of pediatric psychology, and author of *WHAT EVERY CHILD WOULD LIKE HIS PARENTS TO KNOW,* has publicly favored a policy of truth-telling to children about *everything*—including Santa Claus.

In the interest of rethinking this issue of children, Santa Claus, and parental responsibilities, what follows is the original letter of Virginia's, with a new answer. . . .

Dear editor:

I am 8 years old. Some of my little friends say there is no Santa Claus. Papa says "If you see it in The Sun, it's so." Please tell me the truth, is there a Santa Claus?

Virginia O'Hanlon
115 West 95th St.

Dennis J. Chase is a frequent contributor to local and national publications including REASON. *His most recent* REASON *article, "Up From Journalism," appeared in* REASON's *September 1973 issue.*

Virginia, your little friends are right. There is no such person as Santa Claus, but I hope you will not become downhearted and skeptical by this. Pretending there is a Santa Claus is just a way to celebrate the holiday spirit by imagining a person who has love, generosity and devotion for everyone. Adults dress up like Santa Claus in order to make these qualities more real to you, Virginia, and not because they want to mislead you. Christmas is the time we think so very much about all that is good in the world that we pretend all the unhappiness is gone for awhile, and that Santa Claus comes to give hope to everyone.

A long time ago, someone told adults that imagining a Santa Claus was not enough, and that little girls and boys need to actually *believe* in Santa Claus for Christmas to be any fun. The real world, they reasoned, is a bitter place, and they wanted to protect you from it for as long as possible.

Of course, all children learn the truth, and then they see the world differently. In just these small ways they learn that the world is a place they can never be sure of, a place where even parents lie, even to their own children. I hope, Virginia, that is not the lesson you learn, because it is not the lesson your mother and father really want you to believe.

You know, Virginia, last Christmas a little black girl exactly your age wrote to the editor of another newspaper, and asked why she had never seen a black Santa Claus. Is there one? she wanted to know. He told the little girl that Santa Claus was not black, or white, or red, or yellow. He said Santa Claus "has no color." Isn't that silly?

Another girl, this one 4 years older than you, said she learned about Santa Claus by sneaking downstairs after bedtime and "catching" her parents putting out gifts for Christmas day. One thing you should learn, Virginia, is how one lie leads to many others. Some parents even pretend that Santa Claus climbs up and down chimneys, and that his reindeer can fly. Do you know, Virginia, that a famous teacher at a famous university in Chicago has advised parents that telling children the truth about Santa Claus will help spoil the "golden age" of childhood? I'm sorry to say that many adults just don't think about what happens afterward, and how children are affected when they find out the truth.

What is too bad, Virginia, is that it would be so easy for your parents to tell you the story of the real Santa Claus, St. Nicholas, the bishop whose kindness has made him the most popular saint in history. That is why gifts are given in his name, and why the day he died is remembered and combined with Christmas. But some adults, I'm afraid, think children live in a different world, not one just smaller in size, but smaller in values. They will not lie to their friends, but they will lie to children.

No, Virginia. There is no Santa Claus. And I am sorry you had to learn the truth from your friends and not from your father and mother. But this is changing—some people are saying that adults can be honest with children, and that children will learn to be honest by the examples of the adults they see.

Many parents think this will spoil Christmas for children. I hope that's not true, Virginia. Spoil Christmas? You might as well say that Thanksgiving is "spoiled" because you never met a Pilgrim, or that history is "spoiled" because you never saw Pocahontas, or that a puppet show is "spoiled" because the puppets aren't real. What many adults have forgotten is how good children are at pretending.

Some also say that adults will deprive children of the joy of fantasizing by telling them the truth about Santa Claus. We know that's not right, Virginia. As a matter of fact, it is just the opposite case: only children who know the truth about things are then *able* to fantasize about them.

But I am afraid, Virginia, that 10,000 years from now, and 10 times 10,000 years, adults will still be telling children about Santa Claus, tooth fairies and storks. Some of them have more fun than they think children are having, and perhaps that is why they do it. At least you have learned the truth, Virginia. There is no Santa Claus. But there are still gifts and Christmases and Virginias and much in the world to be happy about. ◻

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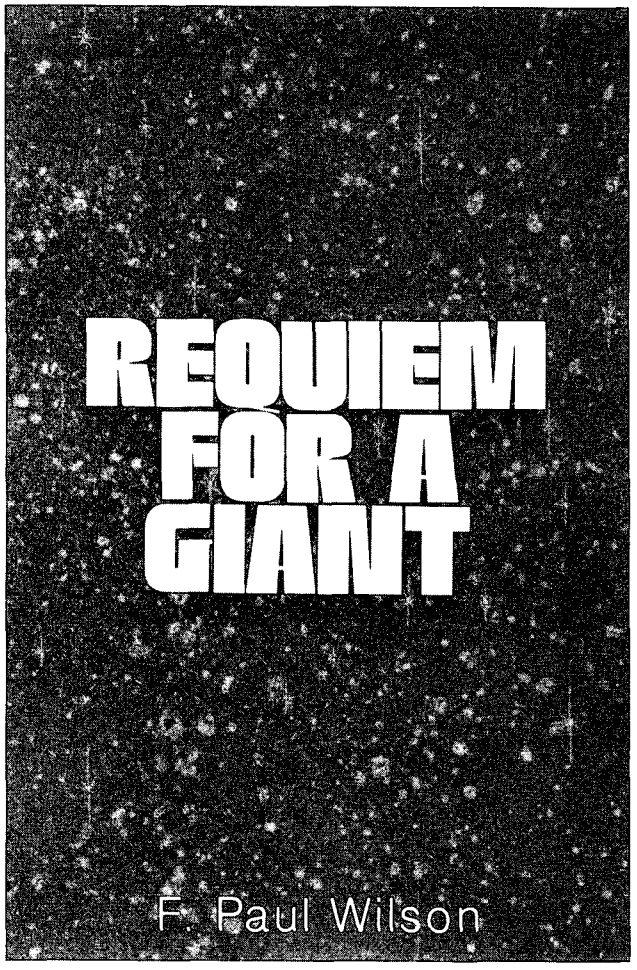

At different times during the course of his career he was called a reactionary, a romantic, a fascist, a visionary, a conservative, an Objectivist, a troglodyte, a technocrat, a racist, and other sundry epithets—some more caustic, some more complimentary. He was all of them and none of them.

John W. Campbell, Jr. was an individualist in the truest sense of the word, rejecting all labels and refusing to admit to following any particular philosophy. There will never be another like him. He was the prime mover in shaping science fiction into its present day form and the genre will bear his imprint for as long as it exists. To his monthly editorials in *ANALOG* he brought a unique combination of prejudice and objectivity which guaranteed the reader an unusual, idiosyncratic approach to any given subject.

He's gone now and *ANALOG* isn't quite the same. It's still the best s-f magazine on the market, still the largest selling . . . but something's missing. The editorials don't have quite the same punch, color, incisiveness. He was a giant and a tough act to follow.

BINARY STAR

Campbell was 20 years old when his work first saw print in the January 1930 issue of Hugo Gernsback's *AMAZING STORIES.* The genre was a natural for an imaginative MIT student who liked to write fiction. Subsequent tales rapidly gained him an ardent following and it wasn't long before s-f editors realized that the John W. Campbell name on the cover meant rapid sales on the newsstand. In a little over four years he was considered to be the most popular science fiction author in America, rivaled only, perhaps, by E. E. Smith.

That position was soon challenged by a new name—Don A. Stuart—whose "Twilight" was published in the November 1934 issue of *ASTOUNDING STORIES.* This story, a mood piece about man's far-flung future, entranced the science fiction world and further Stuart efforts such as "Atomic Power", "Blindness", "The Escape" and "Night" put Campbell's name in near total eclipse. Stuart's stories were something new to s-f; they were more subdued, more emphathic than Campbell's cosmic-scale romances, and they tolled the death knell for the Bug Eyed Monster—and fantastic invention-riddled space operas which had typified science fiction until then. Stuart's work formed the vanguard in science fiction's coming of age, when mood, plot and characterization began to rate equal time with the scientific aspects of the story.

Stories bearing the Campbell name became few and far between; and after he took over the editorial post of *ASTOUNDING STORIES* in September 1937, they became virtually extinct. His energies were now totally devoted to reshaping the face of science fiction. Strangely enough, the Don A. Stuart name disappeared, too—but by then most knowledgeable s-f fans knew that Campbell and Stuart were one and the same.

ASTOUNDING—which changed its name to *ANALOG* with the February 1960 issue—became Campbell's life for the next 33-plus years. (It should be mentioned that he also edited the lamented *UNKNOWN WORLDS* from 1939 to its demise in 1943.) He decided that it was time for science fiction to move out of its gee-whiz-lookit-that phase and become a more mature medium of expression. Scientific extrapolation is the core of good s-f, yes, but Campbell wanted the writer to put some flesh on his characters: he began demanding personality and motivation, a theretofore rare finding in the field.

A group of young writers who could fill the Campbell bill began to cluster around *ASTOUNDING.* Campbell nurtured the likes of Asimov, van Vogt, Sturgeon and Heinlein, berating them and

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F. Paul Wilson has published short stories and novelettes in ANALOG *and is currently working on a science fiction novel. He has a B.S. in biology from Georgetown University and has recently completed medical school. He is currently serving his internship in New Jersey, and is planning to enter general practice.*

challenging them—throwing them ideas that he had no time to develop himself. He became the Ezra Pound of science fiction. As Isaac Asimov put it: "Nothing I have ever written, whether he was directly involved or not, whether it was science fiction or not, fails to carry the impress of his influence."[1]

For over 33 years he conducted a continuous search for new talent. If a new author submitted a story that didn't make the grade but showed promise, Campbell would often send it back with a note explaining *why* he rejected it. You have no idea what a buoying effect such a note can have on an author who has previously received only mimeoed rejection slips from other editors!

If Campbell found a story good enough to be published, however, the author received only a check. This was typical of the man. He loved an argument, loved to inundate an opponent with a flurry of off-beat alternatives; but he quickly lost interest in people who agreed with him.

Wartime paper shortages threatened all the pulp magazines but Campbell's editorial policies had made *ASTOUNDING* a leader in the field and it managed to pull through; not so its fantasy-oriented sister, *UNKNOWN WORLDS,* which gave up the ghost in October 1943. So Campbell's time was once again exclusively devoted to *ASTOUNDING:* he steered it through the so-called "Golden Age" of the Forties and the big boom of the early Fifties, through the slump of the late Fifties and early Sixties which decimated the s-f magazine population until only a handful were left. And he brought the magazine as *ANALOG* into the present resurgence of the genre.

NEW WAVE

The world changed quite a bit during that period and so, naturally, did the people who make up s-f fandom. Many of today's younger fans have a mystical/collectivist orientation toward life and non-romantic tastes in literature; consequently, they demand and receive science fiction that suits their inclinations. In other words, pop-philosophy and pop-literary styles caught up to s-f (which many new writers interpret as "speculative fiction").

Thus was science fiction's "new wave" born. Campbell, for the most part, avoided direct personal involvement in the debates, although the antithesis of the "new wave" style was being called Campbellian s-f. *ANALOG* editorials, however, became more topical, more barbed and the "new wave" folk moved further and further away from Campbell.

What else could they do? Campbell's editorials had a marked tendency to reaffirm the concept that *A is A* and to find value in the sovereignty and efficacy of the individual. He dared to find value in capitalism! ("Capitalism motivates the individual to *be* an individual, and to see just how much he can accomplish in competition with all other individuals."[2] Mystics and collectivists resent such "twaddle."

He rejected stream-of-consciousness and similar pop-styles, insisting on publishing stories with both a beginning and an end and some sort of logical connection between the two:

> The major factor that makes an *ANALOG* story is a consistency both internally and externally—i.e. the story develops logically from given data in the story, and doesn't violate known science pointlessly and without explanation.[3]

> The author, to earn his keep, has to think things out in a direction the reader never considered, or in detail greater than the reader bothers to, or to a logical conclusion the reader shied away from.[4]

He was Aristotelian to the core and a firm believer in what he called the Schwartzberg test: "The measure of the rigor of a Science is the index of its ability to predict." Consequently, he had little faith in psychology (except in some of its applications to the market) and even less in sociology, referring to them as the modern day black arts. He railed against the Scientific Establishment for refusing to take seriously any research into psionics—telepathy, for instance—maintaining that it was probably a dead end, but it shouldn't be dismissed until it had been investigated.

ICONOCLAST

He warred with all Establishments, in fact, believing that the more entrenched and snug and comfortable one became with one's conceits, the more one resisted movement, especially *forward* movement. His editorials challenged everything, spanning the galaxy from esoteric discourses on chemical engineering or the "black holes" of deep space, to the deaths at Kent state or the ecology movement.

The ecology movement . . . a particular thorny problem for Campbell who was a veteran bird watcher and all-around nature lover. But he also had a love for man and his works, and a scientist's faith in technology. What brought him into conflict with the ecology movement was the fact that he was an omnivore as far as scientific knowledge was concerned, and consequently he knew a good deal about ecology, something which set him apart from most of the movement's activists. He knew the life cycles of many fauna and flora, both macro- and microscopic, knew the effects of a temperature change on them and which way the population distribution curve would skew in a given situation. He knew that many of the additives in those wonderful lead-free gasolines were carcinogens. You couldn't frighten him with stories of nuclear reactors blowing up because he knew that the uranium in a modern reactor has about

as much chance of reaching critical mass as does the uranium hiding in the granite of Manhattan Island.[5]

Campbell did not favor disrupting the ecology of our world, but neither did he favor returning to a pre-industrial type of existence in order to avoid doing so: he put his faith in people's ability to perfect technology to the point of harmony with the environment. He saw the ecology movement as good because it gave impetus to efforts toward this end, but he attacked it for its hysterical, irrational and anti-intellectual overtones.

Read the editorials. They cannot be summarized with any justice, they cannot be broken down. Each must be read as a unit. There are numerous places about the country selling back issues of *ANALOG* . . . start with December 1971, the issue with Campbell's last editorial, and move backward. There's the one on the ecology of inner-city rats (5/70) or the one on "freedom of medicine" (10/70). Other topics include public utilities and unionism (5/66), the perfect spacesuit (6/69), the FCC and cigarette commercials (7/69), victimless crimes (8/69), the chemistry of man-made elements (9/69), race and intelligence (10/69), and on and on. Harry Harrison edited a collection of older Campbell editorials for Doubleday which is still in print. I've read in excess of a hundred, concurring with many and vehemently disagreeing with the rest. But I've never found one that bored me.

Most of my correspondence with Campbell occurred during a period in which I was living in rural Missouri. In the spring of 1971 I happened to mention in a letter that I'd be in the New York City area during June; Campbell wrote back and asked me to drop in at the Conde-Nast offices so we could meet face to face. Well, one thing led to another and before I knew it, June was gone and I was back in Missouri without ever having met him. I wasn't too concerned, however, because I was moving back East permanently in 1972 and there'd be plenty of time for us to get together.

In mid-July I received a letter from Kay Tarrant, *ANALOG*'s managing editor at that time, saying that John W. Campbell, Jr. had died in his sleep on July 11, 1971.

The unique individualist who propagated fine science fiction for over 33 years and renovated the entire genre, who acted for so many as both irritant and mentor, was gone. Science fiction and I are so much the poorer for his passing. ◻

NOTES AND REFERENCES:

[1] *ANALOG,* November 1971, pg. 169.
[2] Personal communication, December 16, 1969.
[3] Personal communication, August 11, 1969.
[4] Personal communication, July 9, 1970.
[5] A summary of Campbell's ecology arguments can be found in the September 1971 *ANALOG.*

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The Other World

Robert Greenwood

This month, for the first time, REASON *presents a work of fiction.* REASON *is not a literary magazine and does not plan to become one; we have selected Mr. Greenwood's story at least as much for its message as for its literary qualities. We may occasionally print other works of fiction that have something important to say to our readers, if the response is favorable. Mr. Greenwood provides some interesting food for thought as 1973 draws to a close.*

I kept thinking about that line from Emily Dickinson, the one about the horses' heads being pointed toward eternity. Only I wasn't on a journey toward eternity, metaphysically speaking. My immediate destination was Fishers' Store, and I was driving the buckboard, and with a single mule, not a team of horses. The mule kept flicking her ears, switching her tail. It had been a long pull up the grade from the canyon. I had rested her at Traverse Creek at the gravel ford, where the bridge used to be until it had been washed out in the floods several years ago. She took the grade at her own casual pace. I could see Fishers' Store ahead through the low branches of the live oak trees.

I caught sight on my right of the old hulk of an automobile rusting away in the manzanita bushes. George Fisher had not traded in cars now for several years. At one time he had taken them in trade and sold parts. The old hulk was one of the last models that had been made in the old Chevrolet Monte Carlo series. It had been cannibalized long ago: the tires were gone, all the upholstery stripped away, even the glass removed from the window frames. It was only a carcass; there was something vaguely disturbing about it, an association that roused old memories, unpleasant to contemplate if you let your mind wander back into time.

I tied the mule to the porch rail close enough to the water trough so that she could help herself to a drink. Two wagons were tied up at the other end of the porch; one belonged to George Fisher. A bicycle leaned against the front steps. Three white chickens with red combs were scratching in the dust. An old brown dog looked at me out of the corner of his eye from underneath the porch and then went back to sleep. The store was a large frame building covered with cedar shakes, unpainted and rough in its general appearance, and the shingles were discolored through long exposure to sun and wind. I unloaded eight cases of fresh peaches from the buckboard, carried them up to the porch and left them in the shade.

I stopped before going inside the store to feel my pocket, to make sure it was still there. It was, and my fingers were reassured by its familiar shape, its tactile quality. "Hello, Tom," George Fisher said as I walked inside. "Those look like nice peaches." He stood behind an old wooden counter, that familiar squint on his face.

Heaps of merchandise and groceries, much of it locally produced, filled the long tables and rows of shelves; sacks of shelled corn and grains leaned against the counters, presenting to the unfamiliar eye an aspect of confusion. "They're the best of the orchard," I said, walking up to the counter. "I want the wooden cases back, when you get around to it."

"I have your IOU here." He marked it paid, signed it, and handed it over the counter to me. He had taken my IOU six months ago on the promise of the peaches. He smiled and gave me that appraising look of his, suggesting an aspect of his character that was curious by nature. His head was nearly bald, with a fringe of curly gray hair around the crown. He had an angular nose, pointed at the tip. Some men had let their beards grow out, and kept them trimmed with scissors, as I did, but George was always clean shaven.

At the other end of the store three people were gathered around a long table. I watched them for a moment. "My mother wants to know if you have any honey today," I said.

"Good honey is hard to get. I have a little that John Ferguson brought in last week, very good, too. The best substitute for sugar there is. How much do you need?"

"How much can you let me have?" I asked.

"Let me look and see," he said, and he moved down the aisle between shelves stocked with rows of glass jars and bottles, in all shapes and sizes. I was always amazed how quickly he found exactly the item he wanted among all that discontinuity. "Here it is. John Ferguson's honey. Look at that amber color," and he set it down on the counter. "John takes first class care of his bees. He brought in twenty pints. Your mother will find this is fine to cook with. How is your mother, Tom? Is she feeling well these days?"

"She works hard, but then we all do these days. She's inclined to fret too much about a lot of things. Otherwise, she's fine." Over at the long table there was a small excitement, a commotion

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brought about, I thought, by the appearance of a lucky number. Two men were pointing toward what at this distance looked like a wagon wheel set horizontally on the table, slowly revolving. Mrs. Fisher stood beside the wheel, an old green eyeshade pulled down over her forehead. "How is the roulette game going?" I asked George.

"Pretty good," he replied. "It keeps Clara busy—not that she needs anything more to do." He came around the counter. "Go over and say hello to Clara. Ralph Johnson is over there, and your neighbor, Paul Thomas."

I walked over to the game. "Hello, Clara," I greeted the woman wearing the eyeshade. "Have these fellows busted the bank yet?"

"No, and they're not going to, either. The odds will have their way in the long run," she said, a tone of finality in her voice, somehow hinting at a secret knowledge of the laws of probability. Mrs. Fisher was heavy, muscular even, her neck thick and powerful, like a man's, her arms strong, but agile. The eyeshade pulled down over her brow gave her an almost inscrutable aspect, but her eyes were steady and looked directly at you. Her outward manner, gruff as it might appear, was not the sum of her; she was comfortable in life, or about as comfortable in it as one could be these days, and took a genuine pleasure in its feelings and possessions. Her speech was always direct; she made herself understood through understatement. Her motions as she operated the game were swift and confident. "They just hit a number, but I'll get it back." She moved over to the wheel, one hand resting on it, waiting for the men to place their bets on the layout.

"How is your brother and his wife?" Ralph asked, placing a bet, and then looking up at me.

"Bill is fine. So is Fern. Bill was wondering the other day if you had any of that wine left you made last year."

"Not a bit of it. Fisher got most of it and traded it off. It was a good crop of grapes I had last year. I've got a good crop coming along this year, too. Tell Bill I'll trade you folks for some of your peaches. I can make some nice brandy with peaches." Ralph had been a widower for three years. In that time his aspect had grown more solemn with each passing year. There seemed to be a general debility of body as well as of the spirit; he had grown thinner each year until now he had an emaciated cast about him. His cheeks were hollow, his eyes deeply set.

His wife had died suddenly and under circumstances so painful that the memory of it was etched not only indelibly upon his own mind, but in the memory of others as well. Her appendix had burst. Because of the distance one had to travel to a doctor, and because the element of time was crucial—a combination of circumstances so unfavorable as to make the situation almost hopeless—it had not been possible to save her. Ralph had hitched the horse to the wagon, and had carried her in her agony to a great pile of blankets he had hastily arranged in the back of his buckboard.

On that day I had been outside hoeing in the tomato patch. I heard her screams first, and then the wagon and horse clattering down the road. Mother and Bill had heard and had come running around the house to the garden. Through the pine trees we looked down upon the road and saw Ralph sitting on the box, his face ashen white, urging the horse on toward Placerville at a gallop. Mrs. Johnson lay in the back of the buckboard clutching the blankets—as though by seizing them and hanging on to them she might somehow keep hold of life itself. Her screams swelled up through the pine trees, piercing the air, and she rocked back and forth as though locked in a fierce struggle.

We were silent. It was as though we were listening to a warning siren. Finally the buckboard disappeared around the curve of the road and was lost to sight, but we could still hear her screams, and then later, after we had looked at one another, only the sighing of the wind in the trees. We learned later that she had died in the buckboard on the grade down to Placerville.

Sometimes when in adversity, when the work is not going well, or when there is too much of it to do, giving way temporarily to despair, I have heard her screams from some corner of my memory, like an echo.

"You want to sit in on the game, Tom?" Clara asked, her face impassive, like an old oak tree.

"After a bit," I said. "George and I plan to do some trading." Clara had the white ball in her beefy hand, and gave it a smart spin around the rim of the wheel.

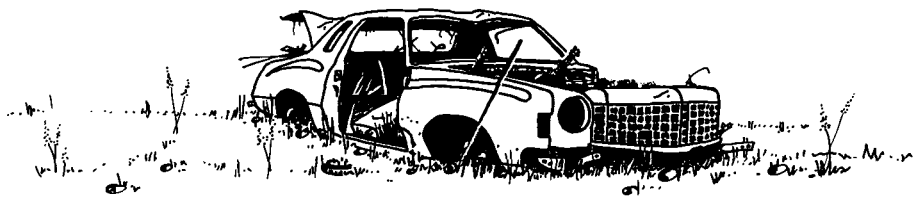
I felt my pocket again to reassure myself it was still there, to know tangibly the secret of its presence, known only to myself.

Paul turned to me, watching me out of one corner of his eye. At 30, he was only six years older than myself, but I noticed that his beard had begun to show faint traces of gray around his mouth. "Bob Crocker up on Whalen Creek was in early this morning and did some trading. He'd caught a nice string of rainbow. He traded them to George for some scrip. Trout won't keep too long, so George will have to trade them right out before they go sour." The ball had dropped into the wheel and bobbing about like a cork.

"The trout are down at the spring, all dressed and salted down in madrone leaves. They'll keep there; we'll trade them out before the day is gone," Clara said. She swept a hand over the layout, retrieving the bets, pointing a finger at number 11. "No winners," she announced.

"Anyone been down to Placerville lately?" I asked.

"There was another big slide on the grade just this side of the river," Paul answered. "You can get through on a horse all right, but it's a tricky business with a team and wagon. Too narrow in some places. Some of the folks down at Kelsey try and keep it open, but they don't have much to work with, and they can't always spare horses for working on the road."



George had come inside from the porch. "I got your peaches, and your packing cases are in the buckboard." He walked behind the counter and started figuring on a piece of paper.

"How much is the honey?" I asked, moving it to one side of the counter.

"It's $3.50 a pint. Hard to keep in stock. There's a lot of call for it. John Ferguson is the only one around here knows anything about bees; this stock he brought in won't last long." He was explaining to me the law of supply and demand in his own way, in the provincial sense, with a knowledge gained naturally and easily through experience.

"We need the honey. I'll take it." Mother had particularly emphasized I was to get the honey today.

"Do you need anything else?" he asked. "Do you have any scrip?"

I fingered the secret object in my pocket again, wondering if this was the proper time to produce it. "We have some scrip over at the place, but I didn't bring any of it with me."

"I could advance you some scrip against some of your almond crop. I can always use almonds in the store. How does your crop look?" Again the inquiring look and I could tell that his calculations had shifted to almonds.

"The trees came through the frost all right. Good blossoms this year, and a nice

crop shaping up on the trees. I'll check with Bill, but I'm sure we can let you have at least one hundred pounds this year." I had now decided to reveal my secret, to confirm its reality.

"I could let you have $50.00 in scrip for one hundred pounds," he said. "You folks have nice almond trees at your place. I'd have to get them from you already husked, of course."

He had started printing his own scrip about seven years ago. He had found an old hand press in Placerville along with four cases of ancient foundry type, some ink and paper, and other accessories. It was only a small press, cast of solid iron. It was operated manually on the leverage principle and was purely functional. Fisher had appreciated that functional aspect at once and had got the knack of operating it puickly, again that practical streak in his character. He had issued his first scrip on small cards and in a series of denominations. The smallest value was $1.00 and the largest $50.00. Otherwise, they were all uniform in appearance:

FISHER'S STORE
Bear Creek, California

Will Pay to the Bearer on Demand
One Dollar
In Groceries or General Trade

George F. Fisher

He personally signed each piece, and sometimes he wrote the date at the bottom underneath his signature. The scrip served a dual purpose: it could be used by the bearer to purchase goods from the store, and Fisher himself used it to buy goods for his stock. He carefully kept a ledger to account for the amount of scrip outstanding, how much he had issued, and how much was invested in inventory at any given time.

"I don't think I'll borrow any scrip against the almond crop," I told him, reaching into my pocket. "I have something else here you might be interested in trading for. Something I found the other day." I watched his brow lift in anticipation as I pulled my hand from my pocket and placed the coin on the counter.

"Where in the world did you find it? You sure don't see these anymore. I don't think I've seen one now for ten years." He picked up the coin and inspected it carefully, turning it over in his fingers. "And in nice condition, too." He turned around and took an old book from one of the shelves.

"I was putting in some peach seedlings down by Dry Creek the other day, and while digging a hole to plant one, I turned it up with a spade of earth. I wasn't sure of what it was at first. But it polished up nicely, didn't it?"

He was looking in an old coin book, seeking to identify the coin. "You know your place over there is right on the site of the old mining camp of American Flat. It was quite a place back in 1850, during the days of the gold rush. I read about it once years ago in a copy of the county history. In those days there were several stores there, a gambling tent, a hotel, a blacksmith shop, an express office, and hundreds of placer claims along Dry Creek. Been nothing like a town there now for well over a hundred years, just ranches and pasture land. I read somewhere that when the placer claims petered out the miners all left and went down to Spanish Flat. Lord, that was a long time ago."

"The date on the coin is 1848," I said.

"So it is," he replied, looking at it closely, then up at me. "It's gold, you know."

"Yes, a ten dollar Liberty."

He was leaning over his book, chin in hand, and seemed lost in the study of calculations. "This book here says it contains .48375 pure troy ounce of gold, not quite half an ounce. You understand I can't pay you anything for the rarity of the coin. Not many people these days can afford to indulge in that sort of thing. But I'll buy it for its gold content. I'm paying $300.00 an ounce for gold now, and I'll give you $145.00 in scrip, good against anything I have in stock."

"All right," I said, "I need some shotgun shells, .12 gauge, if you have any."

"I have a few, but they come high. Impossible to get, you understand." He turned toward the roulette table. "I want Clara to see this," he said, motioning to her. "Clara, come over here and see what Tom has brought."

Clara removed her eyeshade, smoothed her hair, and the gesture was distinctly feminine. Ralph and Paul followed her over to the counter. I wondered what each of them in turn might be thinking as they looked at the coin, of how each person's thoughts might interpret and respond in different ways, evoking the personal reality of dissimilar and singular experience. Against the patina of the old wooden counter the coin kept a reality of its own: hard, independent, unique in its lustre.

"Good for you, Tom," Clara said.

"You lucky devil," Paul said, smiling.

Ralph nodded his approval.

I picked up the coin and handed it to George, watching every gesture of the exchange, seeing it in slow motion, taking note of the precise moment, and the significance of it, when the coin left my fingers and rested in the palm of his hand.

"He found it over at his place, at the site of the old mining camp, a place called American Flat," George said, looking at me for confirmation.

"That's right," I answered. But my mind was turning to the more distant past, to another contemplation, of something once chanced upon in a moment of exploration, of an image once glimpsed that had for me become a part of memory, and more.

"You'll have to try that famous luck of yours at the wheel," Clara said.

"I intend to," I said. "George is going to get me some shotgun shells, and then I want to look around the store. I'll be over directly." I followed George into a room in the back of the store. He opened a heavy iron box with a large key, counted out my scrip for me, and deposited the coin inside the box.

"Will one box of shells do?" he asked. "I have a few boxes here, but I prefer to ration them out. You don't use them for rabbits and quail, do you? That would be a waste. You can get small game with a snare."

"I use a snare for rabbits, traps for quail. I only use shells for deer. Give me buckshot, if you have it."

"All right. We'll settle up the bill later when you get the rest of the things you want."

I put the box of shells on the counter beside the honey. Then I walked down the aisle, dodging grain sacks, looking at the canned foods on the shelves. Mrs. Jameson had brought in about thirty jars of her cucumber pickles since my last visit. Mrs. Benson had traded some of her canned tomatoes: her brand was distinctive because she always put in some green pepper and onion for extra flavoring. We never traded for home canning. It was scrip wasted, Mother said, because every summer we had a large garden, "and you know that Fern and I always put up all the canning we need every year." Then I looked at some artificial trout flies tied by Leroy Samuels of Kelsey. He had mounted different assortments on cards, and I chose one with Royal Coachman, Black Gnat, and Mayflies, putting it in my shirt pocket.

Then I walked over to the roulette table. Ralph and Paul were still playing the numbers. Clara watched the layout to see where I would place my bet. I put $2.00 in scrip on the black. Clara spun the wheel and the black came up. "You lucky devil," Paul said, "I bet you could win if you played with wooden nickels."

"No wooden nickels allowed in this game," Clara said, paying my bet. The mention of wooden nickels had reminded her of something. "Some man came in here out of the blue last week with some of the old paper money and wanted to play. I wouldn't let him. Told him that old paper money was no good, as if he didn't know. He was sizing me up for some kind of sucker, I guess. Then he said he wanted to trade for some of our scrip."

"What did he have to trade?" Ralph asked.

"Nothing but old paper," she answered. "He had an old Treasury Note, and said we could have it at a deep discount. I told him it wasn't worth the paper it was printed on, and did he take me for a damned fool? He had walked all the way up here from Coloma in the hot sun. I let him have a drink of water out at the pump. But that's all he got here."

"Do you still see much of that old paper money anymore?" Ralph continued.

"Not very much." She was turning the little white ball over in her fingers. "A-while back a man came in here with some old stock certificates on Great Western Energy Resources. Had about 2,000 shares. Said he'd take whatever we'd give him for them. I told him no, you see. That company went bankrupt years ago." She made ready to spin the wheel. "Now and then we get a silver dollar. Some people saved them in the old days. We get silver halves and quarters now and then; they're good. George trades them with the other stores for hard-to-get goods."

I put some scrip on the black again.

"Guess you folks were smart enough not to get stuck with much of that old paper," Ralph said.

"We got stuck like everyone else," Clara answered, a note of annoyance coming into her voice. "About a year after the panic some slicker walked in here and unloaded a lot of worthless bonds on George. Some debenture notes on Consolidated Coastal Electric, which was going belly-up at the time, only George didn't know about it. The slicker got away with a wagonload of goods, I tell you. We still got those damned bonds back in the office." She checked the bets and spun the wheel.

"That's been a mighty long time ago," Ralph reflected, watching the bouncing ball.

"Yes," she said, "a long time ago." The ball landed in number 11, black. "You win again, Tom," she said, pushing scrip toward me.

Paul stood up. "That's all for me today," he said. I've got to start back down the hill. Got to get home and milk the cows."

Ralph stood up, stretching his legs. "I've got to be on my way, too," and he waved his ancient straw hat in a gesture of goodbye.

"How much for the trout down at the spring?" I asked Clara.

"One dollar each. Six dollars for the lot." She removed the eyeshade and hung it on a brass hook on the wall.

"I'll take them."

"You can pay George for them. I'll go down to the spring and get them and put them under the box in your buckboard." She walked heavily toward the door, smoothing her dress over her hips as she walked.

My thoughts returned again to that image in my mind, of something once discovered and since contemplated, of an impression so indelible as to have fastened itself upon my memory in a visual way. I thought of it as my own personal discovery, though at the particular moment of discovery it had been in Fishers' Store for a long time, neglected and seemingly forgotten. I had happened upon it one day almost by chance in the untidy storeroom while searching for some object of utility, and my first response on seeing it had been one of astonishment. As I had studied it more carefully my astonishment turned to wonder. To have discovered it in those circumstances, surrounded by broken and discarded objects, was amazing in itself.

I walked over to the counter and said to George: "Do you still have those oil paintings by Isabel Blackstone?"

He looked thoughtful for a moment. "You mean that roll of canvases?"

I nodded.

"I think they're on an overhead shelf in the storeroom. You want to see them?"

"Yes," I said, and followed him.

In a corner of the storeroom, near a window covered with dust, I looked up to the overhead shelf and saw the roll of canvases. They were in the same place I had last seen them. He handed the roll to me.

"Sure was too bad about Miss Blackstone," George reflected, looking absently at an old discolored calendar on the wall that had been issued years earlier as a souvenir of the national bicentennial. "You know she came up here to this country about two years before the panic. Came up here to paint, from somewhere around San Francisco. She had quite a reputation down there as an artist. She moved into that little cabin down on Bear Creek near the old Carson place. Wasn't much of a place but she fixed it up nice. Bought a wood stove from me that first winter she was here. After about six months, when things got bad, she didn't sell much of her work anymore. So she put in a large garden, like most folks did. She hung on for a couple of years, doing for herself, and painting when she could. One day she came in here with that roll of canvases and said she wanted to trade them for scrip. Well, you understand, I never did know anything about art. Clara was against giving any scrip on them at first. Not practical, she said. People needed practical things in order to hang on. But when Clara had a little time to think about it, she gave in and said it would be all right, just one time. So I took in this roll here. I've never sold any of them. So I just put them away in here. Nobody ever looked at them but you, Tom."

I unrolled the sheaf of canvases, which were about three by four, and leafed through them, looking for the special one. George went on talking:

"Next time she came in the store I swear she had lost twenty pounds—sort of withering away, Clara said—and she no longer had that quickness about her eyes, but looked tired. She wanted to trade her books, all of her art books, for scrip," he said, pointing to several shelves of books underneath the window. "I haven't sold any of them, either. Maybe you'd be interested in those books, Tom. I'd make you a good deal on them." He took off his spectacles and polished them with an old red handkerchief. "Well, anyway, it wasn't long after that they found her down at her cabin, frozen to death. Had four feet of snow on the ground then, a terrible winter. She'd run out of firewood. Had even burned up some of her furniture in the wood stove trying to keep warm. When they found her she was wrapped in blankets and rugs, and they were all frozen so stiff they couldn't get them off her. They had to build a fire in the stove and let those blankets and rugs thaw out before they could unwrap her. The ground was frozen solid for three weeks. When they buried her they had to dig her grave with a pickaxe, the ground was so hard and frozen. Most people figured she had too much pride to ask for help. She was a proud woman; didn't want to be a bother to anyone. I would have taken her some wood. Other folks would have, too." He seemed to be considering his words, as though a hidden significance lay in them.

I turned up another canvas and there it was. There was in the contemplation of it as in the experience of life the fascination and excitement of discovery, and joy. "Oh God," I said, "how beautiful it is!" I said this not to God, not to George, not even to myself; it was exclamatory, involuntary.

George stared at me. He moved his lips but no words came out. It occurred to me then he might be offended because I had not commented on his story, and that perhaps he thought I had not been listening at all.

"I want it," I said. "How much?"

"Is $10.00 all right?"

We settled the bill then; I paid him for everything I had bought. Then I rolled up the canvas and tied it with a piece of string.

"I can let you have those art books cheap," he repeated, glancing at the canvas tucked under my arm. His eyes settled on my face again and he squinted, looking for something. He was almost staring.

"I'll give you $25.00 for the lot," I told

him.

"All right," he agreed. I paid him. "You want me to help you load them into your buckboard?"

"No, I'll get them next time I come over. You can hold them for me." I knew my family at home would think the painting I had bought a luxury. I intended to counter any criticism of it with the trout I would take back for dinner tonight, a kind of compensation for my extravagance. But I could not very well take home a buckboard full of art books on the same day.

"Sure," George replied, "they'll be here when you want them," and from his expression I knew he had guessed my motive.

Clara was outside, washing fresh vegetables at the hand pump. I put the shotgun shells and the rolled up canvas into the buckboard, underneath the box. George handed me the jar of honey. "Tell your folks hello," he said, and untied the mule from the rail.

I drove the buckboard out to the road looking over the mule's ears again, pointed toward home. The gentle rocking motion of the wagon down the grade brought over me a kind of reverie and my thoughts turned back to George and Clara. I remembered a story my brother Bill had told me about them, an incident that had happened two years after the panic. When the stores around the county had begun to issue their own scrip a county government already in its terminal stages had made a feeble effort to impose and collect a tax. One day a tax collector had appeared at Fishers' Store. He had come up from Placerville, riding a mule. He wore an old black suit, shiny and threadbare, with a deputy's badge pinned to his coat lapel. Brushing the dust from his clothes, he explained to George the purpose of his visit. The county was going to levy a gross tax on income, payable in store scrip, as the county had certain outstanding fiscal obligations that had to be met.

"We can't pay in county bonds or in the old money," the collector explained, "because the county can't sell its bonds anymore and the old money won't circulate. Besides the old obligations due, the county needs funds for current expenses, too," he continued. Then he paused, studying George, as though measuring him. "The federal government is no better off, you know. Their bonds won't sell or trade, either way."

Clara stood off to one side polishing the roulette table, listening carefully.

The collector went on to say that the county had no legal or moral objections to scrip circulating as money but that it had to be taxed. Then he motioned toward the roulette table, and his voice seemed to take on a more aggressive tone. "We're requiring all the stores with game of chance to buy a gambling license now for a flat fee of $100.00. We don't care what type of game you run or what you make on it, but you have to get a license to legally operate that game." He paused to let his words have their effect. He stood beside the counter, looking expansively around the store.

George had already considered whether there might be a practical side to it, his first response to any problem, and had decided it was impossible. As the collector had spoken, George had simply stared at the floor between his feet, that squint on his face, formulating his reply, summoning up the evidence of opinion and judgment, the stock-in-trade of the trader. But his silence and his inscrutability annoyed the collector, who was waiting impatiently for some response.

Finally George spoke: "The way I see it, the panic was caused by too much debt with no real backing for the old money. The backing was only a promise. And you can't force people to believe a promise. When the bankruptcies came and practically everything went belly-up, people had to learn to do for themselves. My scrip is good because it can be traded for goods in my store," and he waved his arm at the shelves, "and people know it has all this backing behind it, not debt. Now you walk in here and want to take my property; that's what it amounts to, that's what it finally comes down to, and without any fair exchange. That's the way I see it."

Clara had moved from the roulette table and was standing at the other end of the counter, dusting the shelves. The collector moved to interrupt George, his jaw tensed and his eyes narrowing.

But before he could speak George held a palm up, extended toward him. "One more thing," George went on, "that gets to the bottom of this whole thing: when a paper money has no real backing behind it, you can make all of it you like, on nothing more than whim. But when there is real backing behind it you can't multiply it at whim, because if you do you have to produce more of the goods or value to back it with, and those values and goods, as well as the paper money, are rightly a measure of wealth produced. But you can't multiply value or goods by whim. Do you see?"

The collector fixed George with his eyes: there was a menacing attitude about him now. "I didn't come all the way up here to talk about the damned past," and he reached into his hip pocket and produced a huge padlock, the tangible threat, and said he had the authority to padlock any store in the county that refused to cooperate. "You can't argue against the necessity of preserving local government in times like these," and there was the ring of a challenge in his voice.

Clara had moved quietly behind the counter, leaned over, and emerged a moment later with a shotgun cradled in her arms, leveled directly at his belly. "Now I won't argue with you about it," she said, and it was spoken almost casually, incongruously. "I have my own views and I doubt if you would understand them. This is our store and no one has any claim on it. I'll say this to you just one time, and one time only: get out!" She raised the shotgun to shoulder level.

The collector looked blankly at George.

"You'd better go," George said, his face impassive.

The collector walked out to the porch, looking behind him, Clara following. Swinging himself up on the mule's back, he recovered himself momentarily and glared at her, enraged at what he considered an intolerable insult to his authority. "You can't do this to me. I'll be back, damn you," he fairly hissed at her. And his parting words, as he gave the mule a vicious kick, were: "To hell with both of you!"

Clara then raised the shotgun over his head, into the trees, and fired both barrels. The terrified mule flattened its ears against its head and disappeared down the road, the collector hanging on desperately. He never came back.

* * *

I was almost home. I could see my brother Bill down the hill splitting wood as I drove in with the buckboard. Fern was with him, stacking and cording wood. Last week we had cut down two large sugar pines and three oak trees; now the wood had to be split for the fireplace and stoves. If we were to have a cold winter we would need at least eight cord. I unhitched the mule and turned her out to pasture. I waved hello to Bill and Fern and unloaded the buckboard.

Mother was in the kitchen washing and boiling jars, getting ready for the canning. "Did you get the honey?" she asked, a hint of anxiety in her voice. I knew she planned on using it when she cooked the peach preserves. A lock of gray hair had fallen over her cheek, deep lines creased her face, and she looked tired. She wiped her hands on her apron.

"Here it is." I handed it to her. Her face relaxed some. Then I handed her the trout, still cool and wrapped in the madrone leaves.

She smiled when she saw them. "Oh, these are nice. We'll have them for dinner tonight. Were they expensive?"

"No," I said. "I paid for them with my own scrip." I had the rolled up canvas under my arm and I could see her glancing at it.

"You left the peaches with Mr. Fish-

er?" She saw the card of trout flies in my shirt pocket and I could tell she approved of them. "You must have traded that coin you found the other day. What else did you get?"

"Ralph Johnson said he would like to trade us for some peaches. He wants to make some brandy," I said first, and she nodded in reply. "What else did I get? I got a painting for myself," putting a subtle emphasis on *myself,* "and some shotgun shells. The painting is one that Isabel Blackstone did. She sold some to George several years ago."

She did not reply, but neither was there any indication that she disapproved. "Don't forget you have to help Bill with the hand pumping at the well today. The water tank is nearly empty. You have to irrigate the peach seedlings, too." She was reminding me of my chores, the everlasting chores.

"I know, Mother. Don't fret about it. I'll get it done. I'm going to my room for a minute, then I'll go down and water the seedlings." She had arranged the trout on a large white platter beside the kitchen sink. They reminded me of an exquisite still-life, catching the reflected sunlight from the window, the subtle tones and shading of colors.

I went into my room. I put the card of trout flies on top of one of the bookcases. Then I unrolled the canvas and spread it out on the table, bending over to look more carefully. In the margin of the canvas Isabel Blackstone had written, in a hand once motivated by an intensely personal insight, a hand later to be stilled forever by a fatal coldness, the title of the picture, simply the word, *Money.* The background of the picture was an abstraction of space with no points of reference or perspective. Everything of interest was in the foreground, looming large and compelling. The picture showed two hands, exquisitely done in every detail of gesture, one giving and the other receiving a gold coin. That was all. It conveyed the whole feeling, meaning and drama of money, representing the practical demonstration of an ideal, and of its symbol, subtly and simply expressed.

I stood quietly for a moment, aware only of the picture before me and my thoughts. Then I heard the sounds of the other world: Mother was in the kitchen fussing with the canning jars, and from outside down the hill, the sound of the ax where Bill was splitting wood. I turned and and looked once more at the picture and then I opened the door and went outside to do my chores. ◻

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editorial

SAKHAROV AND SOLZHENITSYN

In an era notable for its lack of heroes, it is inspiring to witness the example of Andrei Sakharov and Alexander Solzhenitsyn. In the face of a new wave of Stalinist repression, both have steadfastly refused to recant. On the contrary, with each passing day they seem to grow bolder in asserting fundamental human rights.

In the final week of August, each held a press conference with Western reporters. Both have strongly urged the U.S. Congress not to reduce tariffs on Soviet goods until the Soviet government permits free emigration. Solzhenitsyn has boldly announced that despite death threats from the KGB, he will go on publishing his works abroad. And he announced the existence of an underground plan that, in the event of his death, would release his *major, unpublished works all over the* world. Further, he announced that he will remain living in Moscow, without government permission.

Sakharov, a leading Soviet physicist, one of the founders of the Committee for Human Rights, has been taking an increasingly activist role. Last December 5th he took the place of imprisoned dissident Pyotr Yakir in leading the annual protest against loss of the rights guaranteed in the Soviet constitution. In August, following an interview with a Swedish radio correspondent, Sakharov was warned by Soviet first deputy prosecutor Malyarov to cease his activism. *Sakharov memorized the conversation and* sent a transcript to the *NEW YORK TIMES!* Then, like Solzhenitsyn, he invited newsmen to his apartment for a *press conference.*

For once, the response from the West has been something to be proud of. Especially impressive was the forthright, uncompromising stand taken by Philip Handler, president of the National Academy of Sciences. In a cable to the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Handler warned that planned binational scientific projects could not take place if Sakharov were harassed any further. In an interview, Handler said it was his "very real belief" *that American scientists would refuse to* take part in joint projects if the harassment continued. Nor was the NAS cable the only one; as early as last April the American Physical Society had sent an "unprecedented" letter to the Soviet Academy protesting Soviet restrictions on emigration as a "barrier to the free flow *of science and scientists."*

Temporarily, at least, the protests seemed to have had an effect. For the first time in years the Soviets stopped jamming Western radio broadcasts, and the press campaign against Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn was halted. The Soviet reaction seemed to indicate the urgency of that government's interest in expanded trade and scientific exchanges with the United States. I don't wish to argue here the issue of whether the U.S. government is justified in not reducing tariffs on Soviet goods, unless free emigration is permitted. Instead, I want to focus on some of the implications of the Sakharov/ *Solzhenitsyn affair.*

The most important lessons concern the renewed illustrations of the essential link between personal "civil" liberty and *economic* liberty. Advocates of government sponsorship, government control, or nationalization have yet to learn the lessons made so plain by the Soviet dissidents:

• **Government control of the media:** In the Soviet version of public ownership of the media, the State owns the pringing presses, paper, ink, etc. Only the use of clandestine typewriters and carbon paper permitted the now-defunct *CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS* to report the truth for a few years. Freedom of the press is meaningless without the freedom of individuals to own the means of printing and publishing.

• **Government control of the arts:** In the Soviet bloc only writers and composers who belong to State-controlled unions are allowed to publish. Solzhenitsyn was expelled in 1969, and the expulsion of political dissidents (Amalrik, Maximov, etc.) continues to this day. There are advantages, of course, to shutting up and mouthing the Party line, such as a guaranteed job (no worries about "Will it sell?"). Among those joining in the published attacks on Sakharov were 12 Soviet composers, including Dmitri Shostakovich and Aram Khachaturian. The naive American supporters of the National Endowment for the Arts mouth platitudes about the independence of their subsidies from political control. As the subsidy total continues to double and *triple each year, can anyone seriously* believe that political factors *won't* (or don't already) affect the choice of who gets supported? Would Congress any more readily support "anti-American" artists than the USSR would support "anti-Soviet" writers and composers?

• **Government control of science and education:** "To be a Soviet scientist means to be a Soviet patriot—there is no other way," states *PRAVDA.* The same argument that applies to artists also applies to other professions, such as science: he who pays the piper calls the tune. Yet it is precisely in science where the need for freedom—and for *truth—conflicts most disastrously with* State control. The decades of Lysenkoism bear witness to this sad lesson. Yet in America the proponents of science

grow more adamant each year about the "need" for increased government support of science. Meanwhile, the Soviet government points out with macabre logic that since the State has paid tens of thousands of rubles for the education of scientists, it has a right to demand work, or a cash payment, before allowing them to leave. It is precisely this kind of slavery that State schooling and State science invite.

• **Government control of medicine:** Perhaps most chilling of all are the revelations regarding the extent to which psychiatry has become a tool in the hands of the Soviet state for controlling dissidence. Both Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn have provided extensive documentation of times, places, perpetrators, and victims of Soviet enforced "therapy." Yet much the same thing has been happening for years in the United States, with nobody other than Dr. Thomas Szasz sounding the alarm. The Soviet use of medicine to achieve State ends should give Americans serious pause about the extent to which our medical system is becoming state-controlled, and should prompt renewed consideration of the advantages of a truly free-market approach to this most vital profession.

Have Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn themselves made the connection between civil and economic liberty? There are signs that they have. Solzhenitsyn's press conference is full of contempt for Soviet economic institutions as gross violations of "democracy." And Sakharov openly states that he is no longer a Marxist-Leninist, or even a socialist, but rather a "liberal"—and he may very well mean a classical, free-trade liberal. What the West urgently needs is more people who can see the broader lessons of these events, who can see the underlying similarity *in principle* between partial government control in America and total government control in the U.S.S.R.—and change course before it is too late. Only then will we truly profit from the example of our Soviet comrades in the struggle for liberty. ◻

Robert Poole, Jr.

money —$

Davis E Keeler

BANKS AND SECRECY

Due to America's traditional solicitude for her tax gatherers, the Internal Revenue Service has enjoyed ready access to the records of domestic financial institutions. It has correspondingly been piqued by the chilly reception it has received in certain foreign jurisdictions which maintain a banker-client privilege similar to our own attorney-client privilege. Chief among these affronts to the dignity of our revenuers has been Switzerland.

The United States has tried a number of ploys to overcome the Swiss reluctance to cooperate in tax matters. The Swiss are quite willing to be helpful in criminal investigations but do not consider common tax avoidance to be a crime. The United States, on the other hand, in its campaign against organized crime has often only been able to obtain successful prosecutions on tax charges. While the conduct of organized crime was also an offense under Swiss law, the fact that the United States used the material sought from the banks for tax prosecutions caused the Swiss to invoke the secrecy law and deny cooperation with the United States authorities.

After years of gnashing its teeth and shaking its sovereign fist outside the closed doors of Swiss banks, the United States has this past May signed a treaty with Switzerland which provides for assistance between the two countries in the investigation of conduct which is criminal under the laws of both countries. The treaty has yet to be ratified by the governments of the respective countries.

The *NEW YORK TIMES* reported the treaty under the heading, "Pact Would Let U.S. Check Swiss Banks in Tax Cases," which simply is not so. The treaty sets out the principle of specificity, whereby the information sought may not be used in any other prosecution. In other words, the United States may not use information disclosed in an extortion investigation in a subsequent tax case.

Negotiations leading up to this treaty extended over almost five years. The United States was particularly intransigent because it viewed this treaty as a model for future negotiations with other bank secrecy jurisdictions. In the face of Swiss firmness, the United States was forced to abandon its demands to conduct investigations on Swiss soil, use American procedural rules, investigate securities offenses, cross-examine witnesses and seek information involving political crimes. Investigations will be conducted by Swiss authorities (with American officials present only in the rarest circumstances) and only after the United States has shown the importance of obtaining the information and the inability to obtain it elsewhere. After making the investigation, the decision rests with the Swiss as to which of the information so obtained is to be turned over to the United States.

On this side of the Atlantic, the implications of the United States' Bank Secrecy Act of 1970 are beginning to sink in and the law, which was adopted with a minimum of controversy, is now meeting a growing storm of opposition. The American Civil Liberties Union is involved in at least two law suits attacking its constitutionality as an invasion of privacy and unreasonable search.

Political pressure is also in the wings. Democratic senator John Tunney of California and Republican senator Charles Mathias of Maryland are talking about legislation to amend the law.

In a bitter editorial, *BARRON's* had this to say about the law:

> For consider what Congress in its wisdom and the Treasury's regulations have made the law of the land. The Secretary of the Treasury "in his sole discretion may . . . make exceptions to, grant exemptions from, impose additional record keeping or reporting requirements. Such exceptions , exemptions, requirements or modifications may be conditional or unconditional, may apply to particular persons or to classes of persons and may apply to particular transactions or classes of transactions." The Treasury may compel a bank to hand over a depositor's records without either his knowledge or consent. And if such records appear to contain "a high degree of usefulness in criminal, tax or regulatory investigations or proceedings," the Treasury may make them available to any

other Department or agency merely upon written request of the top man. (26 June 1972)

In a statement which was no doubt intended to be reassuring, William L. Dickey, deputy assistant Secretary of the Treasury, said: "Enforcement will be highly selective." *WALL STREET JOURNAL* (29 June 1972).

Since the government has chosen to use the banking system as the vehicle for financial surveillance, this will put a premium on the use of nonbank channels for moving wealth.

While reports must be made by banks on currency transactions of more than $10,000 (or a lesser amount, if the Secretary of the Treasury so decides), it will still be possible to accumulate currency in small transactions and export them (e.g., by mail) in amounts of $5,000 "on any one occasion" (once again, subject to the apparent power of the Secretary to require reports for lesser amounts) so as to avoid the need to report. However, in an inflationary economy, the loss in purchasing power of wealth held as currency exacts a premium on such an arrangement. Also, the money would have to be sent to someone other than a financial institution, as defined by the new law.

The export of wealth in forms other than monetary instruments is not covered by the Act. For example, a valuable painting, bullion, rare stamps, etc. . . . would *not* be covered, although there is always the need to be sure that there would be no duty charged in the receiving country.

The major nonmonetary instrument which *is* covered by the act are bearer securities, i.e., securities payable to the bearer rather than a named individual, which are transferable by delivery, and whose ownership is not a matter of record. While bearer securities (other than debt instruments) are uncommon in the United States, they are popular overseas for various reasons, including tax avoidance.

Harvard law professor Arthur R. Miller, author of the book *THE ASSAULT ON PRIVACY,* has this to say about the Bank Secrecy Act:

> This legislation, in effect, creates a financial dossier on nearly all Americans and may well contribute to the widespread feeling of alienation, paranoia and mistrust that seems to exist. ◻

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Davis Keeler's "Money" column alternates monthly in *REASON* with John J. Pierce's "Science Fiction in Perspective."

foreign correspondent

Pretoria, South Africa

In order to come to any rational conclusion on the controversial racial or so-called "apartheid" issue in South Africa, it is necessary to examine certain facts and premises which provide the framework and background from which the system should be viewed. The whole structure of society in the long run depends on ideas held and believed in, rightly or wrongly, by the average individual in that society. One of these ideas that has prevailed for the last few centuries in the Western World has been the concept of "democracy". Democracy may take the form of an unlimited majority rule or a demarcated or limited majority rule. The fact that this power of the majority has been wittingly and unwittingly used and is still being used to enslave the whole of mankind, should be well known to libertarians.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION

The South African political system is based on unlimited majority rule (for the whites, that is). There is no equivalent of the American "Bill of Rights". The result is an advanced stage of government interference in the economic as well as in the social sphere. We have our fair share of import and export controls, wage controls, price controls, rent controls, production quotas, an increasing rate of inflation (approximately 12% per annum at the moment), a government controlled broadcasting system, and all the other paraphernalia accompanying a ballooning welfare and socialist state.

My point can best be made by quoting from a book *(A VERY STRANGE SOCIETY)* written by the American author, Allen Drury, published in 1968 after an extended tour of South Africa.

> Several basic truisms emerge from the journey. Some are in the Republic's favour, some are not. Those that support the Republic's point of view are these:
>
> 1. The major black ethnic groups lumped together under the general term "Bantu" are as distinct from one another as Germany and France. They are largely illiterate, largely uncaring, mutually mistrustful, mutually antagonistic. They are not the great single black mass yearning to be free that sentimentalists and self-servers in other lands try to protray them.
>
> 2. They are as a race distinctly different from the whites, not only in traditions, practices, laws, but in the way they think, feel and react. When the traveler hears from liberals, conservatives, Afrikaners, English-speakers and American missionaries alike how different they are, how unpredictable, how baffling, how difficult to unify and work with, one must give credence to such comments. Sentimentalists and self-servers again to the contrary.
>
> 3. They are at this stage, and perhaps for generations to come, totally incapable of managing or leading the vigorous, booming, industralized Western society that now exists from the Limpopo to the Cape. It may not be their fault, but it is the fact.
>
> 4. Nor are they native to South Africa, with some mystical claim forever upon a land they came to late, and then only to slaughter, plunder and lay waste. The only native South Africans on the ground in 1652 were a scattered handful of Bushmen and Hottentots long since absorbed in the general population. South Africa was the white man's country before it was the Bantu's country.
>
> 5. When the Bantu eventually came down from the north, they had the same chance initially at the open veld. They destroyed it because they never learned the most elemental principles of grazing, farming or land management. Why did they not learn them? Why have they not

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learned them anywhere in Africa? Why are conservation, good husbandry and the simplest principles of prudent living unknown to them? Who knows? But the fact is that they are not.

6. The Whites, given the same opportunity, applied themselves with skill, determination, intelligence and discipline and in time erected a major Western civilization that is today one of the world's most viable and sophisticated states; far and away the most viable from the Cape to Cairo and possibly beyond.

7. Confronted with the twin facts of white enterprise and Black sloth, and having created such a society from scratch, the Whites cannot understand why they must be expected to *abdicate and give it up.* [My emphasis.] They will not do so.

And in those underlined words Mr. Drury has, probably unintentionally, put his finger on the dilemma. What can make one "abdicate" and "give up" what one has created? Can it be that Mr. Drury understands the dangers inherent in unlimited majority vote? (The bulk of his book unfortunately does not show this—at least not explicitly.) In South Africa the chickens of democracy have come home to roost. Here we have the tragic example of a people paying lip-service to this ideal of democracy while frantically trying to evade its practical consequences.

WHY APARTHEID?

South Africa has a population of approximately 4 million whites and 16 million "largely illiterate, largely uncaring" Blacks. Table I will give an indication of the education situation. For an American citizen to imagine the colour situation in S.A. he would have to imagine an overnight influx into the U.S.A. of 800 million people of whom 300 million cannot either read or write, for whom ownership of property is mostly communal and concepts like individual liberty practically nonexistent. Combine such a situation now with the democratic notion of unlimited majority rule and the idea of an American "apartheid" might not seem so far-fetched!

The fact that the majority of S.A. blacks are ignorant, uneducated and uncivilized does not indicate that they do not have the *potential* to be the equal of any white person. There are many individual blacks in S.A. who qualify as medical practitioners, teachers, lawyers, technicians, etc. Many of them are studying at American and other overseas universities and in S.A. the number graduating yearly from universities is increasing. It is only in a collectivist society that terms like "white enterprise and black sloth" can be used. In a society based on individual liberty such terms become nonsensical.

If one bears in mind now that the S.A. political system is based on unlimited majority rule, the reluctance to extend the vote to the blacks on the principle of one man one vote can be understandable. Recent events in the Belgian Congo, Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda have strengthened this reluctance. It may sound paradoxical that extension of "freedom" to some may result in more slavery for all. Modern socialist countries bear witness to this. The "freedom to rule" is a contradiction in terms.

The system implemented by the S.A. government to circumvent this dilemma has been called "apartheid"; the Afrikaans (English and Afrikaans are the official languages in S.A.) translation of the word "separation". Under the political cover and whitewash offered to the public in the form "every race must conserve its own identity", "we owe it to the nonwhites to express themselves politically", "emerging black nationalism", etc., the government has set aside certain areas for the blacks where they can, theoretically, develop into completely independent states. (The reader must remember that there are seven different identifiable black ethnic groups in S.A. each with different language, customs and traditional "home land".) To each group a "home land" has been allocated. Influx into "white areas" is strictly controlled by means of the "pass book" system and blacks are considered "temporary visitors" in these areas. The idea behind this forced separation is of course to counteract the one man one vote concept of democracy.

CAN IT WORK?

At the moment the rate of increase of the Blacks is much higher than the rate at which jobs are created in the home lands. A reverse in this trend in the near future is impossible. In the magisterial district of Johannesburg, our biggest city, the number of blacks in relation to whites has increased from 1.34:1 (1951) to 1.59:1 (1960) to 1.66:1 (1970). The major metropolis has thus become "blacker" during the last 20 years in spite of apartheid.

Industrialists are reluctant to move long established industries into new areas. (This has been partly overcome by proclaiming "home lands" adjacent to big cities.) Next to Johannesburg with approximately half a million whites is a "black Township", Soweto, with nearly a million inhabitants. The majority of these people have never known any other home but their township. To them a homeland is a name on a map. They have no ties with it whatsoever. By government decree they are "temporary visitors". Is it conceivable that they will work and live in this city without ever demanding political power at their place of abode?

Apart from these problems there is the added difficulty that S.A. has a "twilight" people, the "Coloureds". The result of black and white interbreeding they number over 2 million (half as many as the whites). They have no homeland and no real political say. Add to these the three quarters of a million Asians also without political say and one has a problem with no forseeable solution within the framework of majority rule.

All the "unjust" laws passed in S.A. like the "Immorality Act" which prevents marriage across the colour bar, the 90 and 180 days detention without trial, job reservation for whites etc., can now be interpreted as an effort to perpetuate the status quo—that is, to stop the majority from voting.

Bastiat has rightly said in *THE LAW:* "Imagine that this fatal principle has been introduced: Under the pretence of organization, regulation, protection, or encouragement, the law takes property from one person and gives it to another; the law takes the wealth of all and gives it to a few—whether farmers, manufacturers, shipowners, artists, or comedians. Under these circumstances, then certainly every class will aspire to grasp the law, and logically so. The excluded classes will furiously demand their right to vote—and will overthrow society rather than not to

TABLE I

	Total	White	Coloured	Asian	Bantu
Population (1972)	22,987,000	3,958,000	2,144,000	668,000	16,217,000
Population 5 years and younger (1970)		383,000	319,000	82,000	2,153,000
Illiterates (older than 5)		151,000	451,000	96,000	6,416,000
Educated: Form III and higher		1,745,000	99,000	78,000	315,000

obtain it." Blacks in S.A. are gradually demanding that "right".

CONSTITUTIONAL ENTRENCHMENT AND FRANCHISE

There are three major political parties in S.A.: the ruling Nationalist Party, the United Party (the major opposition) and the slightly libertarian Progressive Party. The Progressive Party advocates voting for people of all races above the age of 18 and with certain educational and economic qualifications.

"The Progressive Party believes that Parliament should be so constituted that it will always protect the interests of all sections of the population. It believes that the best way of ensuring this is by having a truly multiracial Senate. It therefore proposes that the Senate be directly elected by voters and that to gain election, a candidate will have to obtain at least one fifth of the votes cast by the members of each racial community in the constituency concerned. This means that candidates and political parties will have to appeal to all races and multi-racial government will be assured" (from a Progressive Party circular to voters).

These requirements will be embodied in a constitution. But people tend to forget that a constitution is an undertaking written on a piece of paper the implementation of which depends on the attitude of the majority of the population. It can be changed, furthermore, and it does not guarantee protection of minority rights. An example of the inadequacy of a constitution has been supplied by our black ruled neighbour states: King Sobhuza II of the newly independent Swaziland has *just scrapped their constitution,* dissolved parliament, and now rules with "supreme power" after arresting the leader of the *banned* opposition party, Dr. Ambrose Zwane, under that country's 60 days detention without trial regulations; Dr. Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, another black ruled neighbour state, has declared Zambia a one party state and has outlawed all opposition. Of what value is a constitution under these circumstances?

CAN LIBERTARIANISM OFFER ANY SOLUTIONS?

Throughout this article I have remained uncritical of the apartheid situation and this may leave me open to some severe criticism from other libertarians. I consider myself to be in the position of somebody who has to choose between a more severe or a less severe dictatorship. The dictatorship in this instance is unlimited majority rule. The less severe dictator is a group of 4 million mostly educated people. The more severe dictator is a group of 16 million, mostly ignorant people. The fact that the average person of the one group is distinguishable from the average person of the other group is an accident of nature. The object of criticism should be the dictatorship, and not the colour of the dictator. Abolish the source of all the evil: omnipotent government, whether in black or in white hands!

Separate development or "apartheid" in S.A. will, I believe, eventually lead to sporadic revolutionary action among the blacks. This will be due to the fact that on the one hand it is economically unfeasible and cannot be implemented quickly enough, and on the other hand that political and economic interference from abroad is awakening in the blacks an acute awareness of their disenfranchisement. Already foreign pressure has resulted in changes in black-white relationships which would have seemed inconceivable 10 years ago. But will anybody gain from this newly acquired "freedom"? If so, this gain will have been bought at a price: our present creeping socialism will become running socialism!

On the other hand, the libertarian ideal of individual liberty under limited government will have little chance of success. What will keep the government limited?

The solution *could* be a Rothbardian system of anarcho-capitalism. How one gets from here to there—that is the question . . . ◻

Marc Swanepoel

book review

Reviewed by Richard de Mille

THE IMPERIAL ANIMAL, by Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971. xii + 308 pp.)

The furor in the popular press over B. F. Skinner's *BEYOND FREEDOM AND DIGNITY* is disconcerting because, when not indulging his grandoise fancies, Skinner remains a notable scientist. Unfortunately, the public has no way to distinguish plausible, limited applications of operant conditioning[1] from utopian schemes and science fiction. But the limits are inherent: by definition, an "operant" is an emitted act, which can be reinforced/conditioned/shaped only *after* it has spontaneously appeared. We have to ask, then, what makes the act appear for the *first* time. What makes the pigeon peck or the infant coo? How far can we expect to distort or encumber these characteristic behaviors before the animal will rebel or break down? In the human context, what are the limits of—and what are the conditions that limit—the well known flexibility of man's behavior and the countless variations of his culture?

The authors of *THE IMPERIAL ANIMAL* do not claim to know the limits of contemporary human adaptability, but they declare that the limits exist and that we ignore them at our peril. They believe they can show where the limits came from and how they have been genetically "wired into" the typical newborn babe as dispositions to learn certain practical and social behaviors very easily.

Canadian sociologist Lionel Tiger and British anthropologist Robin Fox have put their heads together in an American university (Rutgers) to consider the implications of zoology and evolutionary biology for the emergence of common themes from human cultures the world over. They derive the gross outlines of a human behavioral "biogram" from observations of the subhuman primates (particularly wild hamadryas baboons and laboratory rhesus monkeys) and from theory about the hunting ethos of Upper Paleolithic man. A thorough index and a forty-two-page multidisciplinary bibliography, deftly marshalled by three hundred consolidated footnotes, alert the reader to the fact that this is no hit-and-run operation. Though *THE IMPERIAL ANIMAL* is informally written and easily read, Tiger and Fox intend to be taken seriously.

This reviewer is best prepared to react to their use of psychological research. Citing more than a dozen psychologists, from Beach to Yerkes, Tiger and Fox depend significantly on H. F. Harlow; wherever I was familiar with the work, I found myself nodding agreement. From linguistics, they effectively adduce Chomsky's universal "deep structure" of language as the analog of a universal deep structure of social behavior, which they profess to discern amid superficial variations of culture. Freudian concepts are employed with restraint. Beyond that—and taking anthropology and sociology for granted—the authors confidently wield the works of animal ethologists, physiologists, psychiatrists, philosophers, historians, political scientists, and a few popular writers. Karl Marx gets special mention for putting his finger on alienation, while Robert Ardrey's territorial rug is gently but firmly pulled from under him.

The main thesis of *THE IMPERIAL ANIMAL* is that we dare not overlook a million years of behavioral evolution when trying to understand what makes a being or a society human. For all but the last hundredth of that very long time, people lived in nomadic hunting bands of about fifty persons, "where culture itself became a selection pressure." The recent great leaps—"backwards," the authors wryly note—into agriculture and industrialization "have put nothing into the basic wiring of the human animal." The very brain that builds computers, bureaucracies and metaphysical systems evolved during the first part of the hunting period; finding itself now pressed by a four-thousand-fold increase in population and by the dire advent of obliterative weaponry, the hunting brain tries precariously to cope with the threat of extinction. Its vast symbolizing power remains indissolubly linked with ancient social, emotional, and intellective preferences, which we must recognize and learn to use in species-compatible ways, if we are not suddenly to bring the million-year human episode to an untimely end. Genetic man still wants: autonomy, trading, competition, influence, risk, defensive might, adventure, hierarchy, cooperation, esteem in return for contributing to the community, a fair and sufficient share, and opportunities to intervene benignly in the lives of others. In addition to preferences she shares with genetic man, genetic woman also wants: children, protection, and face-to-face social cohesion. Genetic child still wants: crucial infant development in an intense mother-child relation, secure exploration, spontaneous learning, and (if a male) successful initiation into manhood. These inborn preferences are balanced by an inborn capacity to learn new and often anti-primate behaviors. The result is a wide variety of human cultures imperfectly but crucially disciplined by an ancient ethos.

Tiger and Fox impose their thesis on human relations, politics, economics, education, medicine, and war with a will that some may find brash. To show the broad relevance of their theme, they repeatedly toss all possible contemporary positions into the air like so many oranges—and then turn away to the next topic. Again, specialists may be irritated by their failure to evince universal expertise; for example, while discussing alienation ("not only from the fruits of their labor but also from the roots of their biology"), Tiger and Fox ignore recent articulations of the concept of alienation.[2] In the long view that is taken by *THE IMPERIAL ANIMAL,* such details may be judged trivial; the value of the book is not in specific answers, but in providing a fresh point of view, from which specialists may apply their own expertise more effectively.

Many of Tiger and Fox's opinions will be applauded—different ones, no doubt, by different readers.[3] These self-styled "biological Fabians" have some pungent things to say about: behaviorism, feminism, laissez-faire, busing, egalitarianism, Thoreau, utopian dissent, bureaucracy, progressivism, pacifism, Romanticism, homosexuality, maternity nurseries, psychiatry, and mankind's prospects of peace and freedom. I will not spoil the ending by telling you how it all comes out—or if it does—but I predict you will lay the book down more convinced than ever that the purportedly Blank Slate is doing a great deal of its own writing.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] For example: David L. DeVries and Stephen F. Jablonsky, *APPLYING OPERANT CONDITIONING PRINCIPLES TO THE MANAGEMENT OF ORGANIZATIONS,* Report No. 102. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Center for Social Organization of Schools, 1971.
[2] See: Melvin Seeman, "The urban alienations: Some dubious theses from Marx to Marcuse" *JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY,* 1971, 19, 135-143.
[3] Professor Max Gluckman seems to have been particularly irritated by *THE IMPERIAL ANIMAL.* See: Max Gluckman, "A Band Wagonload of Monkeys" *NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS,* Nov. 16, 1972, 39-41.

Dr. de Mille is a consulting research psychologist and author living in Santa Barbara, California.

movies

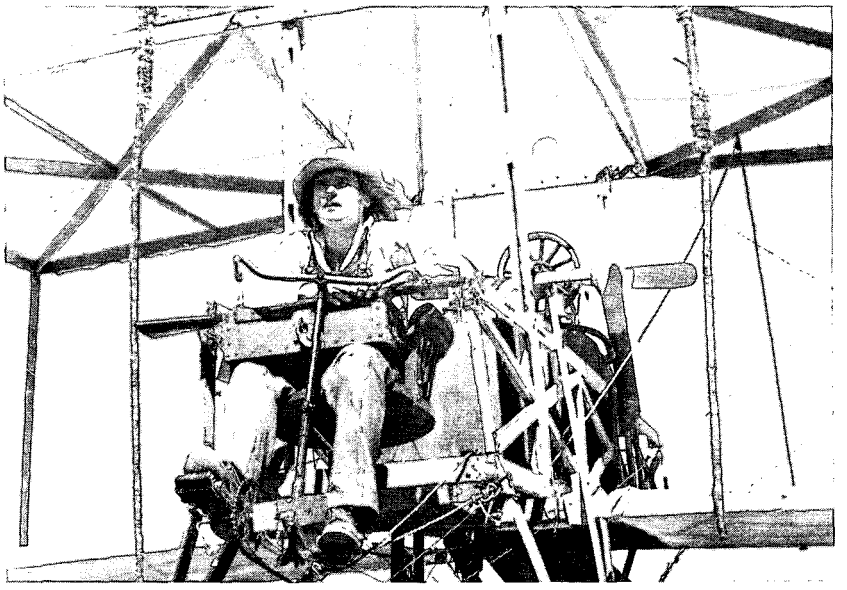
REVIEWED BY CHARLES BARR

• Pity the poor outlaw trying to go straight. That's the premise of **KID BLUE,** an engaging parody-Western that casts conventional respectability in a ridiculous and highly unflattering light. Dennis Hopper plays the title role to perfection as the bewildered but determined ex-train-robber, looking for nothing more than a job and a chance at a new life. What he finds is a sadistic, mean-talking sheriff (Ben Johnson), an evangelistic preacher (Peter Boyle) attempting to invent the airplane one year early, and a succession of menial jobs, from shining shoes to plucking chickens, reaching their inevitable culmination at the assembly line of the Great American Ceramic Novelty Company. Along the way he is kicked, shot at, cheated, befriended by Warren Oates and seduced by his wife (Lee Purcell), and finally brought face-to-face with his past by a visiting old flame (Janice Rule). The moral tone of *KID BLUE* is certainly impeachable, but the script deserves high marks for succeeding in the tricky business of imparting social comment masquerading as high camp. Rated "PG."

• By the time **YOUR THREE MINUTES ARE UP** is up, one gets the impression that an interesting story has been shot down because the storyteller took too long to get to the punch line. Beau Bridges stars as an anonymous white-collar worker who is induced to abandon a bleak future of conformity and dull respectability in exchange for a short, not-so-merry ride down the path of complete irresponsibility. Unfortunately, the point of this movie—that both alternatives lead to a dead end—does not hit home until the final scene, and then only as a result of a violent shift in tone, from cheap comedy to cheap drama. In the meantime, the viewer is trapped in what seems to be a sophomoric demonstration of various ways to beat the system, along with facile

justifications on why it is proper to do so. Most of the scenes are fast-moving, but they take so long to add up to anything that the movie's over-all pace seems deadly slow. Given the inferior development and indifferent script, the performances are somewhat better than might be expected. Bridges manages to avoid outright parody as a nebbish with no will of his own, who is ultimately unable to function either as a conformist or as a rip-off artist. Ron Leibman comes across effectively as a totally amoral opportunist with a "have a good time and damn the consequences" attitude; he leads Bridges down the garden path, then becomes appalled at the results. Janet Margolin registers well in an unsympathetic role as Bridges' fiance, whose chief ambition seems to be a pleasant life in suburbia. Production values are just average; the movie was obviously shot on a low budget. Rated "R."

• **ELECTRA GLIDE IN BLUE** resembles *EASY RIDER* in reverse, with its vision of an alien, hostile society as viewed from the perspective of a motorcycle cop. The relatively unknown Robert Blake stars as a would-be detective, patrolling the desert highways of Arizona with his slightly moronic partner, building up his physical strength to compensate for his short height, and dreaming of the day when he can turn in his Electra Glide motorcycle for a desk and an investigator's badge. Interesting if somewhat freaky supporting performances are given by Mitchell Ryan as Blake's superior, a callous meglomaniac, and Jeanine Riley as a barmaid with a fetish for policemen. The film's rudimentary plot, about a murder rigged to look like suicide, is impaired by a meandering script and some of the most artsy-craftsy direction this side of Andy Warhol. The paranoia and mutual suspicion between the hippie culture and the guardians of "straight" society is given more even-handed treatment here than in most earlier films of the genre, but one is left with an impression of two conflicting life-styles, each a threat to the other, with no peaceful resolution possible. Rated "PG."



Dennis Hopper tries to keep an air machine aloft by pedal power in KID BLUE.

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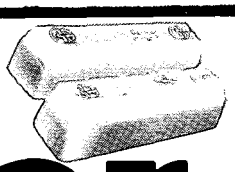

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viewpoint

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ON THE GROWTH OF "STATES"

Many argue for anarcho-capitalism by saying that exclusive jurisdiction in a given geographical area constitutes a coercive monopoly. Indeed, governments *claim* exclusive jurisdiction in a given geographical area. Whether this claim could ever be justified is up in the air, although anarcho-capitalists have already decided the answer to that question. They assert that such jurisdiction *must* be immoral, i.e., coercively established, *forced* on those who come under such jurisdiction.

The history of political philosophy abounds with attempts to provide justification for the claim at issue. Most of them are failures, invoking artificial grounds, rationalizations, highly spurious theories of states, etc. One favorite of the tradition closest to supporting a free society is the contract theory of state, making its appearance in many colors (via Hobbes, Locke, *et al.*). The essence of the contract theory is that people must have united by way of voluntary consent to form a state so as to preserve their natural rights, even if this in turn led to their losing them "in the law," somehow.

What is called limited government—misnamed because "limited" would be redundant if used with another profession, say "limited chemistry," "limited medicine," etc.—has had doubtful philosophic support in political theory. The contract theory, usually a transcendental hypothesis (i.e., it *must* have happened that way, barring only the irrationality of those involved), fails because it is plainly false that any contract between people and their legal agents ever occurred. Also, contracts *presuppose* law, so at best we can hypothesize some kind of *agreement.* But then the point of a contract is lost. Still, that is a topic to be dealt with elsewhere. For now let us look at the alternative offered by anarcho-capitalists.

Their view is not strictly speaking *anarchical*. Anarchy does not just reject government. It opposes any system where self-rule is relinquished in favor of institutionalized, community centered rule, even if the community has only one member aside from the governor/rule-enforcer. This because potentially any rule-enforcer (not "ruler" for that allows for arbitrariness in making rules) is one with the authority to enforce rules community wide. In anarcho-capitalist terms, any defense agency *could have* more than one subscriber, and any court *could have* the same.

Anarcho-capitalism renounces extreme anarchism in favor of mitigated anarchism: people have the natural right to delegate their efforts at self-defense to hirelings, and to delegate their authority of judgment to courts, etc. Self-rule is mingled with self-delegated rule.

The picture we get from this is of a geographical area inhabited by people who may hire guards and arbiters, rely on their own power of protection and preservation, quit one hired agent and join another, even have two or more unrelated agents hired to do different jobs, etc., etc. The adherence to natural or human rights requires here that some "contract" ensue between employer and employee, mostly of a simple variety, involving not much more than does hiring a plumber.

Let us accept this rather vague version of the situation and turn to the point of the present discussion. If it is each person's right to select good protection for himself and his property, it is reasonable to think that some would want the best currently available protection. E.g., in a small community a small-time guard (sheriff?) and arbiter (judge?) are doing some business, but the people hear that in a neighboring place business is done much better. No big thing for a while. But then a complicated crime—violation of someone's rights—occurs. The local agents simply are not equipped to deal with it: they cannot afford the tools needed to do justice to the case. And tools are involved in this mission—so far those who see justice in economic terms alone have a point.

The folk around the place (town, village, county) are not satisfied with the competence of rule (law) enforcement, the administration of justice. So they decide to get *annexed,* to fire their agents and hire the ones in that neighboring community. This annexation may be done right (and wrong as well). The full consent of those involved may lead to it. Some who resist may be threatened with boycotts unless they acquiesce, so they change their minds—nothing wrong with this good market process. Others may resist and secede. So annexation is not inherently immoral. Unfortunately today it is more roughly done than the above description of how it ought to be done.

Still, admitting that these things do not happen with perfect manifestation of virtue and natural law, it need not violate these either. The seeds of a *natural* monopoly emerge and we get a sensible account of how governments grow out of an anarcho-capitalist setting. Perhaps the concept anarcho-capitalism is no longer applicable to the situation, if it ever was. The title of this piece, "On the Growth of States," is a bit offensive, charging the anarcho-capitalist with implicit statism. "State" generally refers to a system that is conceived as monolithic and there is nothing inherently monolithic about the above progression. But "state" is often used to refer to an organized community of human beings with a system of administration of justice, leaving open the details. It is in this sense that the concept is used in the title, state *qua* polis.

Many have argued that libertarian thought does not exclude the possibility and moral justifiability of government. Anarcho-capitalists have said they do not buy this. It seems that from the above they must accept that an agency of law-enforcement with exclusive jurisdiction within a given geographical area is consistent with their point of view—which means it is no different from the position taken by those who argue that some form of government is morally justifiable. ◻

Tibor Machan teaches philosophy at the State University College, Fredonia, NY, and is Senior Editor of REASON. *Dr. Machan's viewpoint appears in this column every third month, alternating with the viewpoints of Murray Rothbard and David Brudnoy.*

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trends

This column reports trends in the advancement of individual liberty and the rediscovery of economic freedom. Readers are invited to submit material of potential interest.

PSRO UNCONSTITUTIONAL?

Libertarians and conservatives are sometimes criticized for harping on the fact that what the federal government subsidizes, it must inevitably control. Yet not only is this proposition supported by logic and by bureaucratic *modus operandi*, it is demonstrated time and again for all to see. One of the latest cases involved HEW's plan to regulate health care delivery by means of Professional Standards Review Organizations (PSROs). Under the terms of the 1972 Social Security amendments, every medical society in the country is asked to set up a PSRO to pass judgment on individual doctor decisions involving Medicare and Medicaid patients; the system would also cover any future national health insurance plan (and thereby would apply to nearly everyone). If the medical society refuses to set up a PSRO, HEW itself will set one up for that area. The PSRO will decide whether medical care decisions were "medically necessary," whether the quality of care met "professionally recognized standards," and whether the means of administering the care were the most economical possible. In the case of "elective" hospital care or services, the PSRO could rule *in advance* on whether such care should be permitted.

Last June a group of doctors struck back. Led by the Association of American Psysicians and Surgeons (AAPS) and three independent physicians, they have filed suit in federal court in Chicago, asking for an injunction to prevent HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger from implementing the PSRO law, *and* seeking to have it declared unconstitutional. According to AAPS president Dr. Robert Jaggard, "If allowed to go into effect, the law would do irreparable damage to medical care in the United States." The AAPS suit claims that the law would destroy the confidential relationship between the doctor and patient, by authorizing government agents to examine patient records. It further contends that the law violates doctors' rights under the First, Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, and Ninth Amendments. Specifically, the law:

- Deprives doctors of their right to practice their profession, without due process of law
- Deprives them of their right to administer medical care in accordance with the highest standard of medical practice and their best professional judgment
- Deprives patients of their right to receive medical care from physicians of their choice
- Exposes doctors to irreconcilable conflicts between their professional responsibilities to their patients and their duties under law
- Imposes duties and obligations stated in vague and uncertain terms
- Establishes procedures to implement sanctions which violate due process of law
- Empowers private organizations that are inherently biased to exercise quasi-judicial authority over doctors
- Authorizes unreasonable search and seizure of records
- Violates the privacy of the physician-patient relationship
- Grants doctors legal immunity against tort law liability, thereby violating the rights of patients.

So far, the doctors have survived a federal attempt to prevent the case from being heard by a three-judge court. A decision in the federal district court was expected by press time. AAPS is prepared to carry their defense of private medical practice all the way to the Supreme Court.

SOURCES:

- "PSRO Challenged in Federal Court," *PRIVATE PRACTICE*, Vol. 5, No. 8, August 1973, p. 14.
- "Automated Medicare Bill Review Will Check Quality of Medical Care," *COMPUTER DECISIONS*, June 1973, p. 4.
- "AAPS vs. Weinberger," *JAG*, Vol. 11, No. 8, July 4, 1973. (*JAG* is a newsletter published by Dr. Robert Jaggard, 10 E. Charles, Oelwein, Iowa 50662.)

The AAPS may be reached at 2111 Enco Drive, Suite N-515, Oak Brook, IL 60521.

ENDING THE AVIATION RIP-OFF

For many years the users of the nation's airports and airways have been flying around the country at the expense of the American taxpayer (see "Hijacking the Taxpayer," *REASON*, January 1971). Claiming that aviation somehow provides a "unique public benefit," airlines and especially corporate and private aircraft owners and pilots argued for, and got, extensive federal subsidies. The beginning of the end of the subsidy era appears to be at hand, however, in the form of the Transportation Department's recently released cost allocation study. The study identifies the cost of providing airport and airways services, quantifies the extent of current subsidies, and sets forth a system of user charges that would approximate a market system in which everyone pays his own way.

The first finding of the study was that the cost of operating the federal airways system (including Transportation Department air traffic control R&D, FAA airport/airways material and services, aviation weather service, and FAA air traffic control) was $1.28 billion in 1972, and will be $1.43 billion in 1973, $1.58 billion in 1974, and $1.82 billion in 1975. Based on extent of use, airline users should be paying 50% of this total, "general aviation" (private and corporate flying) another 30%, and the federal government only 20% (to cover military and other government use of the system). In fact, however, the current system of taxes collects from non-government users only 55% of the total, leaving the federal (taxpayer) share at 45%, rather than 20%. The biggest subsidy by far goes to general aviation, which pays only 6% of the total bill, but accounts for 30% of the cost of the system. During 1971 general aviation's deficit was $246 million, while that of the airlines was only $18 million. Moreover, the general aviation deficit (subsidy) is growing at a faster rate than that of the airlines, and is projected at $400 million by 1975.

To correct this situation, the report urges the phase-in of a revised tax structure that would make users pay in proportion to their use of the system; not only would this eliminate the subsidy effect, it would also provide stronger incentives for overall efficiency. For airlines, such taxes would include a charge for IFR flight plans (based on mileage flown), landing fees to pay for terminal area control, and increased fuel and/or cargo taxes. For general aviation, where the main problem lies, the report suggests some combination of fuel taxes, ticket taxes for air-taxi operators, landing fees (especially important to promote efficient use of airport facilities), and flight plan fees.

Predictably, the general aviation lobby is gearing up for a massive assault on the report, in defense of their cozy subsidy arrangement. John H. Winant, president of the National Business Aircraft Association, calls the user charge philosophy

"unrealistic" and argues that tradition is on the side of subsidies. General Aircraft Manufacturers Association president Edward Stimpson admits that "the strict approach of the economists makes us look pretty bad," and then pulls out of a hat the assertion that "there is at least a 50% public benefit in the national aviation system." In other words, there should arbitrarily be at least a 50% subsidy.

Perhaps more wisely than he realized, Stimpson noted that the same economic rationale as in the DoT report could be used against federal support of educational institutions, agricultural subsidies, health care, research programs, shipping, and "virtually every type of federal activity except possibly legislative and military functions." We couldn't agree more. Let's hope that the phase-out of aviation subsidies will be but the first step in phasing out all the rest.

SOURCES:
- "Cost Allocation Studies Portend Tax Rises for General Aviation," *AVIATION WEEK,* 24 September 1973, p. 39.
- "Increased User Charges Sought," Charles E. Schneider, *AVIATION WEEK,* 1 October 1973, p. 12.

SAYING NO TO THE BUREAU OF MINES

One of the most common ploys of many large, established companies in an industry is to get the government to pass laws imposing costly restrictions on small, aggressive, bothersome competitors. Such laws are generally advocated in the name of high-sounding goals like consumer protection, professional standards, or worker safety. An example of the latter is the tough new mine safety laws passed by Congress in 1970. For large mines, many of the safety features required by the new laws were either already in effect, or could be added for a small cost, relative to the mine's production. For smaller mines, however, many of the regulations are proving both costly and unnecessary. As a result, many small mines across the country are going out of business, at a time of mounting energy shortages.

One small mine that is *not* closing down, despite the regulations, is the King Coal Mine in Hesperus, Colorado. Its owner, 69-year-old Violet ("Auntie Vi") Smith, is fighting the regulations tooth and claw, and has no intention of giving in. Signs posted on the Smith property proclaim:

> **No inspections allowed on this property. This is our property. We are capable of minding our own business. King Coal Mine.**

Mrs. Smith claims to have punched ten inspectors and five U.S. marshals in chasing them off her property on various occasions. No inspectors have visited the mine since last March. She is currently under a federal injunction restraining her from preventing mine inspectors from entering the mine, but that doesn't phase "Auntie Vi": "When the next bunch comes in, I'm ready for them," she declares. Bureau of Mines officials privately acknowledge that the situation is a standoff.

Mrs. Smith and her husband have operated the King Coal Mine since 1934. They have six hired miners who have been with them for years, and take all the safety precautions they consider reasonable. At first, Mrs. Smith attempted to go along with the regulations, but found many of them ridiculous:

- She refused to put a dynamite warning sign on her powder shed because dynamite thefts had been frequent and she saw no point in advertising its location.
- She refused to install showers in the mine.
- She refused to post "No Smoking" signs, since none of the miners smoke in the mine.

Petty harassment over missing imposed deadlines, plus the high cost of some of the required equipment, finally proved to be too much. When an inspector gave her nine books of rules and regulations, she threw them back in his face. Despite large numbers of summonses and contempt of court filings, Auntie Vi reports "I've ignored them all. And I haven't paid one cent of the many fines against me." She and her miners just continue doing their jobs, mining coal as safely and as economically as they know how.

Her forthright stand for the right to use her property as she sees fit, and her uncompromising battle with the Bureau of Mines bureaucracy have made Violet Smith a hero to small miners across the country. She was recently treated to a tour of Iowa coal fields by miners in Knoxville, Iowa who held a banquet in her honor. Apparently the victor, after three years of resistance to the Bureau of Mines, Violet Smith has this advice for those faced with visits from federal inspectors. "Tell them," she says, "to go to hell."

SOURCE:
- "Woman Defies U.S. in Running Coal Mine," Charles Hillinger, *LOS ANGELES TIMES,* 18 September 1973.

SURPRISING SPENDERS

Despite the conventional wisdom that the liberals consistently favor big government and the conservatives a more limited state, a recent study indicates that this just isn't so. A group of college students called the Libertarian Task Force, headed by Harvard history student Lawrence J. Siskind, revealed that among the biggest 15 spenders in the Senate are conservatives Barry Goldwater, Peter Dominick, Robert Taft, and Roman Hruska. Conversely, among the lowest 15 spenders are such liberal Democrats as Mike Mansfield, J. W. Fulbright, William Proxmire, and Abraham Ribicoff. The biggest spenders of all, however, *are* liberal Democrats, specifically John Pastore (#1), Hubert Humphrey (#2), Philip A. Hart (#3), Edmund Muskie (#4), and Jennings Randolph (#5). Four of the five lowest spenders were conservative Republicans: William V. Roth (lowest), William Brock, Norris Cotton, Wallace Bennett, and Harry F. Byrd, Jr.

The ratings for each Senator are based on the cost of appropriations voted for in 1972, together with the additional spending he proposed for 1973. By using *all* the votes, the rating avoids the problem of bias in selecting "key" issues, as in the case of the ADA, ACA, and COPE ratings. The complete results, including a Senator-by-Senator analysis of spending votes, are available as a $10 bound volume from the Libertarian Task Force (15 Yale Street, Winchester, MA 01890).

SOURCE:
- "Students Rate Senators on Spending Public $$," *WASHINGTON POST* wire, 3 Sept 1973.

SECOND THOUGHTS ON GUN CONTROL

Gun control has long been a left-wing cause in the United States, and opponents of gun control laws have been calumnied, whatever their arguments. Yet in the wake of the Chilean coup, the left may begin to have second thoughts about the wisdom of an unarmed populace. Chile had a very strong gun control law, passed under the pre-Allende Christian Democratic regime. According to Dr. Jorge Nef, a Chilean political scientist, the law had been lobbied for by the military. "This law provided them with a legitimate way to disarm everyone, even rifles, knives, BB guns, everything." Thus, when it came time for the military coup, those segments of the population which might have resisted were unarmed and defenseless. The lesson should be clear: an unarmed citizenry has no way to resist the State.

SOURCE:
- "Chilean Calls Junta 'Nazis'," *SANTA BARBARA NEWS AND REVIEW,* 21 September 1973, p. 8. ◻

COMMENT

Common people are as thick weeds.
Yet weeds can strangle the morning-glory
And scale the fortress of kings.

Wendy McElroy

publisher's notes

• **LUDWIG VON MISES, R.I.P.:** Distinguished economist Ludwig von Mises, dean of the Austrian School of economics, died on 10 October, after a long illness. He was 92 years of age. Mises was the author of numerous books, including his magnum opus, *HUMAN ACTION.* A professor of economics at the University of Vienna for many years, Mises left Vienna in 1934—just before the Nazi take-over of Austria—and after teaching in Geneva, he emigrated to the United States in 1940, and taught at New York University for a quarter-century, retiring in 1969.

Long well-known in Europe, Mises ranks with Adam Smith as one of history's leading defenders of the free market. His former faculty colleague at New York University, Dr. William H. Peterson, said of Mises in the *WALL STREET JOURNAL* on 12 October 1973:

> He opposed the planned society, whatever its manifestations. He held that a free society and a free market are inseparable. He gloried in the potential of reason and man. In sum, he stood for principle in the finest tradition of Western civilization. And from that rock of principle, during a long and fruitful life, this titan of our age never budged.

• **NEW CORRESPONDENTS:** We are pleased to announce the addition to our masthead of two additional foreign correspondents, adding to *REASON's* worldwide coverage of the prospects for liberty. Representing Guatemala is Fernando Linares, who will cover the scene in Central America. And from Norway we welcome Ole Jacob Hoff, former editor-in-chief of *FARMAND,* one of Europe's leading pro-freedom periodicals. In addition, the position of Canadian correspondent has changed hands. Replacing William Westmiller (who has moved to the U.S.) is Peter Keerma of Don Mills, Ontario. Mr. Keerma writes for *OPTION,* a Canadian libertarian magazine, and is temporary secretary of the Canadian Libertarian Party.

• **SPECIAL BOOK ISSUE:** Early next year *REASON* will publish a special issue discussing and reviewing some of the most important recent books dealing with liberty and related topics. Some of the books to be reviewed are John Rawls' *A THEORY OF JUSTICE,* David Friedman's *THE MACHINERY OF FREEDOM,* Harry Browne's *HOW I FOUND FREEDOM IN AN UNFREE WORLD,* Thomas Szasz's *THE SECOND SIN,* and Richard Taylor's *FREEDOM, ANARCHY, AND THE LAW.*

• **REASON REPRINT:** Another *REASON* article has been reprinted. Several thousand copies of Dennis Chase's article "Up From Journalism" have been reprinted for in-company use by Dow-Jones, Inc., publisher of financial information including the weekly *BARRON'S.*

• **BOOK REVIEW:** Editorial assistant M. L. Zupan's review of H. B. Acton's excellent *THE MORALS OF MARKETS* was published in the October issue of *THE FREEMAN,* published by the Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, NY 10533.

• **SPRING FINANCIAL ISSUE:** In the spring of 1974 *REASON* will publish a double-size issue devoted to practical advice on personal financial survival, in an era of ever-increasing taxation, inflation, and the looming threat of depression. Editor for this special issue will be Robert Meier, a graduate in finance from Northern Illinois University. The issue will cover such topics as silver options, gold futures, nonmetallic commodities, foreign tax havens, investor psychology, future government monetary and fiscal policy, etc. Contributors will include (as of this writing) Robert Bleiberg (editor of *BARRON'S*), Eugene Guccione, J. M. Cobb, Wainright Dawson, Prof. Yale Brozen, James Davidson, and David Friedman. Also included will be an exclusive interview with Donald Hoppe, author of *HOW TO INVEST IN GOLD COINS,* and *HOW TO INVEST IN GOLD STOCKS AND AVOID THE PITFALLS.* This special issue will be available to subscribers at no extra cost. *Note: Advertisers should reserve space in this issue now, to take advantage of the current low rates.* We anticipate a far larger circulation than usual for this issue.

• **COMING NEXT MONTH:** *REASON's* January issue will feature Dr. Thomas Szasz' provocative challenge to the ACLU's position acquiescing in the involuntary commitment to mental institutions of the "mentally ill." Also scheduled for next month is *REASON's* long-awaited registry of university faculty members who teach courses of interest to students of Libertarianism.

THE LOON

A lonely lake, a lonely shore,
A lone pine leaning on the moon;
All night the water-beating wings
Of a solitary loon.

With mournful wail from dusk to dawn
He gibbered at the taunting stars—
A hermit-soul gone raving mad,
And beating at his bars.

Lew Sarett

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

1. Title of Publication: REASON. 2. Date of Filing: Oct. 7, 1973. 3. Frequency of Issue: monthly. 4. Location of Known Office of Publication (Street, city, *county, state,* ZIP *code*) (*Not printers*): 294 Via El Encantador, Santa Barbara, CA 93111. 5. Location of the Headquarters of General Business Offices of the Publishers (Not printers): 294 Via El Encantador, Santa Barbara, CA 93111. 6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: Publisher—Manuel Klausner, Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111; Editor—Robert Poole, Jr., Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111; Managing Editor—none. 7. Owner (if owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of *total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation,* the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.): Reason Enterprises, 294 Via El Encantador, Santa Barbara, CA 93111; Marilynn Kinsky, Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111; Manuel Klausner, Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111; Tibor R. Machan, Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111; Robert Poole, Jr., Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111. 8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other *Securities* (*If* there are none, so state): none. 9. For Optional Completion by Publishers Mailing at the Regular Rates (Section 132.121, Postal Service Manual). 39 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4359 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this subsection unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail matter at such rates." In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication named in Item 1 at the reduced postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626. (Signature and title of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner): Robert Poole, Jr., Editor. 10. For Completion by Nonprofit Organizations Authorized to Mail at Special Rates. 11. Extent and Nature of Circulation. First number is the Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months: Second number is the Actual Number of Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date. A. Total No. Copies Printed (Net Press Run)—7000-7500. B. Paid Circulation: 1. Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors and Counter Sales—543-460. 2. Mail Subscriptions—5585-5951. C. Total Paid Circulation—6128-6411. D. Free Distribution by Mail, Carrier or other means: 1. Samples, Complementary and Other Free Copies—75-85. 2. Copies Distributed to News Agents, but not Sold—125-130. Total Distribution (Sum of C and D)—6328-6626. F. Office Use, Left-over, Unaccounted, Spoiled After Printing—672-874. G. Total (Sum of E & F—should equal net press run shown in A)—7000-7500. I certify that the statements made by the above are correct and complete. (Signature of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner): Robert Poole, Jr., Editor.

Nuclear War, Can It Happen?

Back in the fifties, great numbers of Americans were concerned about the possibility of nuclear war. Many people built fallout shelters and stockpiled food. Today, things are different. If there is one thing just about everybody is agreed on, it is the impossibility of nuclear war. "The Russians," it is said, "Would have nothing to gain from destroying the U.S."

Unfortunately, such logic seems to have escaped the Soviet rulers. The Soviet Union is presently pursuing the most massive military buildup the world has ever seen. And the configuration of Soviet forces is such that a first strike is implied. In case after case, weapons systems and deployment policies which seem quite senseless if we do *not* postulate a planned first strike are seen to be instantly understandable if we do make such a postulate. The Soviet SS-9 missile, for example, delivers a payload which is many times larger than would be needed to destroy even the world's largest city. Its only conceivable purpose is to destroy hardened. U.S. missile silos.

Stop and think about that. *Its purpose is to destroy hardened U.S. missile silos.* There is no need to destroy our missile silos if they are empty, right? And if they are *not* empty, doesn't that imply that the Soviets are attacking first?

Not proof, you say? You are right. It isn't proof. It is merely one small piece of evidence. But as you look at more and more pieces of this particular jigsaw puzzle, it is very easy to get disturbed. When you put them all together, the theory that makes them fit is grim indeed. The theory: that the Soviet rulers are engaged in systematic preparations to launch a nuclear surprise attack against the United States.

Further, it looks as if attempts to avert such an outcome by persuading our "representatives" in Washington to take action, are doomed to failure. If so, then our only hope lies in the actions which we take *as individuals*, to prepare for what is coming.

I believe that the indicated plan of action is as follows:

(1) If you are living in a major target area, move. (2) Prepare a retreat in an area far removed from target areas, fallout areas, and areas likely to attract refugees. (3) Locate your retreat in an area where you can expect to have libertarians for neighbors. If the U.S. ceases to exist, the only protection you will have will be your neighbors. If they are not libertarians, the government which they will set up will respect neither your right to life nor to property.

Such, in the form of a brief sketch, is the situation as I see it. Accordingly, I have purchased land in a location suitable to the establishment of retreats by libertarians. It goes without saying that such retreats would serve equally well in case of hyperinflation and economic collapse in this country. If you are interested in a more detailed presentation of this reasoning, so you can decide for yourself whether it has merit, use the form below to send for the RETREAT INFORMATION PACKAGE.

Please send ..... RETREAT INFORMATION PACKAGE(S) at $2 each, to:

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State ..... Zip.....

Make check or money order payable to: Mitchell Jones, P.O. Box 12963, Austin, Texas 78711

frontlines

□ LIBERTARIAN CHURCHES

The United States, with its long tradition of the separation of Church and State, has endowed its religious institutions with privileges and freedoms beyond those accorded to private citizens (for instance, see *PRAISE THE LORD FOR TAX EXEMPTION* by Larson and Lowell, Robert B. Luce, Inc., New York, 1969). It is not surprising, then, that some libertarian strategists have turned their attention to the church as an instrument both for promulgating and protecting Objectivist and other libertarian societal and ethical ideals.

The oldest of the libertarian churches is the **Rationalist Church of America,** founded in 1969, with shires in Wisconsin, California and Texas. The RCA believes that "each individual is an end in himself and does not exist to serve a mythical concept of an 'other', whether that 'other' be God or the State. Further, religion, if it is to be relevant, must be concerned with life on earth and must provide a practical and worthwhile code of ethics by which its adherents can live," and specifically conceives of itself as "a bulwark against government oppression." The RCA recently revived its long-dormant *NEWSLETTER* which contains articles on ethics and personal relations as well as Church news. Further information on the RCA can be obtained from **Elaine Bergstrom,** 2984 S. Delaware, Milwaukee, WI 53207.

Similar to the RCA in terms of ideals is the **Rational Libertarian Church.** "It is our creed that God is manifested only in the form of Natural Law, within any man's power to perceive and understand by means of his free will and rational faculty. God is not to be understood by accepting blindly the unsupported pronouncements of priests, mystics or witch doctors. Scientists and philosophers can help us understand the Law which is God—only if they themselves are free of the insanity gripping the world today. Mentors of the Rational Libertarian Church do not exist to interpret reality for others, but to educate people to interpret reality for themselves." The RLC publishes *TANSTAAFL!* ($5/13 issues) in which **L. Neil Smith** is developing in some detail the concept of a church as a sanctuary for preserving civilized values and as a vehicle for social change (ala Robert Heinlein's novel *THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW*). Further information on *TANSTAAFL!* and the Rational Libertarian Church may be obtained from L. Neil Smith, P.O. Box 2032, Ft. Collins, CO 80521.

The RCA and especially the RLC are organized hierarchically. A more anarchistic organizational approach is taken by the **Association of Churches of the Tolerants** with the view "Every man his own priest , every woman her own priest," on the theory that each individual is best able to detail and minister to their own individual beliefs. Hence membership in the Tolerants is achieved by being ordained as a Tolerant minister. The Tolerants are particularly concerned with economic benefits resulting from church status—for further information contact **S. O. Wott,** P.O. Box 36099, Houston, TX 77036.

□ TEXANS ACTIVE

The **Harris County (Houston), Texas Libertarian Party** chapter (P.O. Box 5202, Houston, TX 77012), under the leadership of **Georgiann Trammell,** has been particularly active in dealing with local issues. HCLPers were involved in the movement to defeat the proposed Houston Area Rapid Transit Authority, attending meetings of the local ad-hoc committee opposed to HARTA, distributing copies of Robert Tinney's critique of the proposal, appearing on radio shows, holding a fund-raising garage sale (it might not be glamorous, but it fills the coffers!), etc. The transit proposal was overwhelmingly rejected at the polls October 6.

Meanwhile the HCLP, in conjunction with the **Houston Chapter of Individuals for a Rational Society** (5905 Glenmont #64, Houston, TX 77036), turned out to protest the appearance at Rice University of Nancy Hanks, chairwoman of the National Endowment for the Arts. Copies of **Mike Holmes'** pamphlet "He Who Pays the Piper Names the Tune" ("The same government that brought you conspiracy trials, censorship of so-called pornographic films, and management of the media is now bringing its critical expertise to the realm of aesthetics") were distributed to all persons attending Hanks' lecture.

□ NOTES

A **Midwest Libertarian Conference** is being planned by the **LP of Illinois.** The two-day convention is scheduled for December 15-16, with speakers hopefully including **Murray Rothbard, Mayor Youngstein** and **Milton Friedman.** For more information call Joe Cobb at 312-288-2270. . . . The **LP of Kentucky** is sponsoring **The Free Woman's Seminar** in Louisville on November 24. The program will last all day and feature LP Vice Presidential candidate **Tonie Nathan, Sharon Presley** of Laissez-Faire Books, and state LP Chairman **Susan Brown.** This is shaping up to be a major libertarian event and those interested should write to Ms. Brown at 1836 Algonquin Parkway #4, Louisville, KY 40210. . . . The **East Coast Libertarian Conference** will be held on November 17 in Philadelphia. Scheduled speakers include **Dr. Murray Rothbard, Dr. D. T. Armentano** and **Karl Bray.** For further information contact the sponsor, Society for Individual Liberty, 304 Empire Bldg., Philadelphia, PA 19107. . . . Donations from libertarians across the country have been sufficient to buy television time for **Fran Youngstein's** campaign for mayor of New York City. Her ad was shown to 1.5 million New Yorkers on October 18 with one or two more tentatively scheduled as we went to press. Fran's campaign continues to generate remarkable publicity and she is now considered by the media to be a more viable candidate than any of the other minor party hopefuls. In a recent press release, New York's **Free Libertarian Party** blasted Rockefeller's very tough new drug law because it "does not protect anyone's rights, but merely attempts to legislate morality, causes an increase in drug-related crime, and improperly treats addiction as a legal problem, rather than a medical one." . . . Speaking on the issue of pornography New Jersey LP gubernatorial candidate **John Goodson** remarked, "H. L. Mencken defined a guardian of the public morals as a person who wakes up at midnight with the cold fear that someone, somewhere is happy. It is not pornography that is the crime, it is censorship." The **New Jersey LP** has increased its membership by over 50% since the beginning of the campaign and expects to grow faster as the campaign nears its conclusion. Goodson's "political contract" in which he will be legally bound to his campaign promises was publicized just prior to the November 6 election. . . . "No increase in existing taxes and no new taxes levied by the City of Fairbanks, Alaska will become law without said increase or new tax being ratified by a simple majority of those voting on the question at the next city election. . ." So reads an initiative petition being circulated by the **Alaskan LP.** . . . ◻

reason profile

Rampart College (104 West Fourth Street, Santa Ana, CA 92701) has been active, since its founding in 1956 by Robert LeFevre, in educating people in the substance and importance of libertarian values. Early this year the presidency of Rampart passed to Seymour (Sy) Leon, who had been associated with the college since 1966 as an instructor, administrator, and executive director (a position now held by Sy's wife, Riqui). Sy's aim is to broaden the base at Rampart to the extent that the entire range of libertarian perspectives will be available for study, discussion, and research. In addition to its existing seminars and home study courses, "Fundamentals of Liberty" and "Raising Children for Fun and Profit," Sy has included in the curricula one and two-day workshops on integrating libertarian philosophy with what is broadly termed a "humanistic" psychology, to promote an understanding of human relationships and personal motivation. Rampart is currently offering these programs for individuals and businesses.

In February 1972, Sy founded an organization, the League of Non-Voters, for the purpose of developing a means of communicating his position of non-political, individualistic libertarianism through the mass media. He offered a critical commentary on politics, politicians, the ballot system, and various social, political, and economic issues, and initiated the suggestion that ballots be amended to include the option, "None of the Above is Acceptable," claiming that only when people have a chance to say "No" do they have a real choice. He was featured on all major network news programs and has appeared as a guest on numerous radio and TV shows throughout the country, setting records for audience response in several instances. He received over 25,000 inquiries as a result of his appearances!

SY LEON

In addition to his work at Rampart and the League of Non-Voters, Sy was a Chicago area representative for Nathaniel Branden Institute and for three years he was a columnist for the Colorado Springs *GAZETTE TELEGRAPH* and other Freedom Newspapers. Sy's professional training is in electrical engineering and prior to joining Rampart his business activities were in the sales and marketing fields. His hobbies include gourmet dining and cooking, reading non-fiction, coin collecting, and raising three children—"for fun and profit." ◻

letters

CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

I read in your latest issue, in an advertisement for the book *EDUCATION, FREE AND COMPULSORY,* by Murray Rothbard, the following:

> *Rothbard asserts that the "key issue is simply this: shall the parent or the state be the overseer of the child? . . . There is no middle ground on this issue. The one or the other must exercise ultimate control, and no third party with authority to seize the child and rear it has ever been found."*

May I suggest that the key issue is not at all as Dr. Rothbard describes it, but this: why should not the child have the right to decide who his "overseer" will be, or whether he should have one at all?

I cannot in any way reconcile with libertarian principles the idea that a young human being, for the first eighteen or however many years of his life, should be the property and slave of another. If a young person wishes to live in the condition of total subserviency and dependency that is modern childhood, he should have a right to do so. But if, at whatever age, he wants to leave it, and live as a responsible and independent citizen, I cannot see why he should not have the right to do so.

I cannot see how any position other than this can be consistent with the beliefs you and Dr. Rothbard profess, and would be most interested to hear any ideas on this subject that you would care to put forward.

John Holt
Boston, MA

DR. ROTHBARD REPLIES: I am surprised that Mr. Holt, an experienced author, believes that he can gauge an author's complete position from a publisher's notation. Actually, I agree with every word of Mr. Holt's letter. Crucial to my view of the rights of children is the absolute right, at any age, to set him or herself up as an independent, self-governing entity. Elsewhere I have called this the right to "runaway freedom". I did not have a chance to develop this in my Education pamphlet, but I did so in an article on "Kid Lib", which will be reprinted in a forthcoming collection of essays, *EGALITARIANISM AS A REVOLT AGAINST NATURE, AND OTHER ESSAYS* (Books for Libertarians, 1973).

MISES AND HAYEK DEFENDED

In his review of Rothbard's *FOR A NEW LIBERTY* (September), Mr. R. A. Childs, Jr. asserts that Ludwig von Mises in a review of an earlier book by Rothbard, *MAN, ECONOMY AND STATE* "criticized (Rothbard's) supposedly crackpotish legal philosophy." For those readers who have no access to the *NEW INDIVIDUALIST REVIEW,* Autumn, 1962, this is what Mises wrote:

> *Less successful than his investigations in the fields of general praxeology and of economics are the author's occasional observations concerning the philosophy of law and some problems of the penal code. But disagreement with his opinions concerning these matters cannot prevent me from qualifying*

Rothbard's work as an epochal contribution to the general science of human action, praxeology and its practically most important and up-to-now best elaborated part, economics. Henceforth all essential studies in these branches of knowledge will have to take full account of the theories and criticisms expounded by Dr. Rothbard.

If disagreement can be put aside more gently I have yet to see it.

Mr. Childs also states that F. A. Hayek is an anti-rationalist whereas Rothbard is a rationalist. Hayek's epistemological point of view is as follows: The proper way to study the social sciences is through the deductive method, the proper way to study the natural sciences is through the inductive method. The positivists who state that there is only one scientific method, applicable in all cases, and this is the inductive method, are mistaken. Because the subject matter of the two areas is basically different, in the social area we study subjective matter and in the natural area we study objective matter, two separate approaches are required.

Hayek then says that the positivists, behaviorists, institutionalists, etc. also tend to be the same people who believe that society should be *rationally* planned and controlled. Reason dictates that a scheme be set up and applied whereby social life can proceed in an orderly and intelligible fashion. Needless to say, Hayek objects to this by stating that we benefit most by the uncoordinated activities of individuals acting on what they believe is their own best interests.

I apologize for my highly simplified statement of Hayek's position, but believe that Rothbard agrees in every single respect with Hayek on this issue.

Therefore to call one a rationalist and the other an antirationalist is wrong. Hayek and Rothbard are of one school on this subject and Mises is the master.

Martin J. Glasser
Wantagh, NY

SCIENCE FICTION ERROR

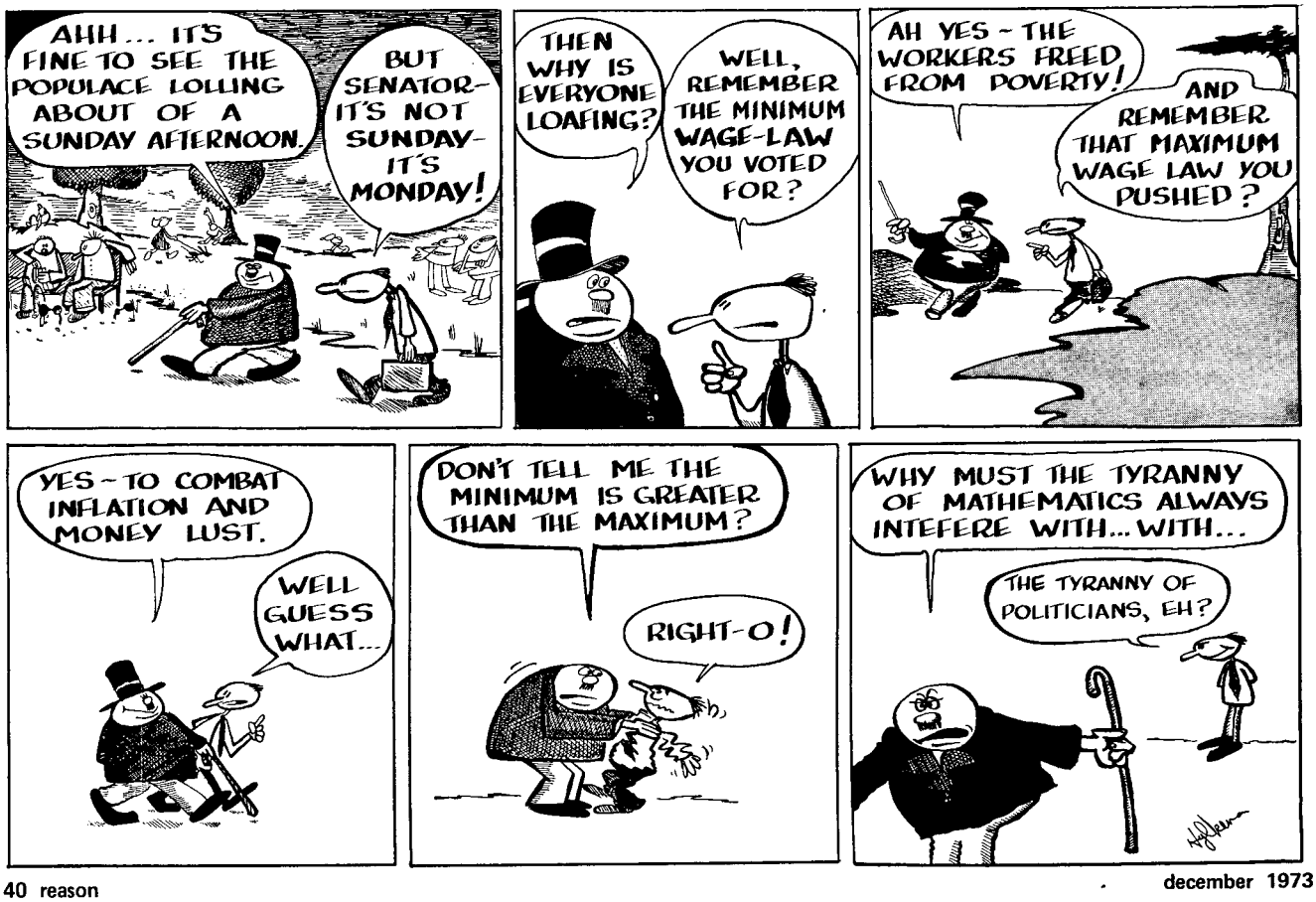
The novelty of some conceptions of science fiction, alas, can get the better of those not sufficiently acquainted with the genre—even those editing manuscripts.

Hence a bit of mangling that occurred in my last column ["Stapledon's Epic Histories," November]. When I said "Eighteenth Men on Neptune," that was exactly what I meant—this being a reference to the eighteenth species of man, our own *homo sapiens* having been the first. Evidently, your editor couldn't make head nor tail of this, and thought I must have meant Eighteenth Century men, and been referring to a non-existent book called MEN ON NEPTUNE. I would hesitate to bring this up, save for the fact that other science fiction readers know better—and they may wrongly suspect that I *don't,* based on the error as it appeared.

Re: Hospers and his critics. It strikes me that however "objective" criteria may be developed for art, there is always a "normal" range of range of taste, just as in biology there is a "normal" range in, for example, menstrual periods, the size and shape of organs, etc. Or take an even more obvious example: standards of physical "beauty" seem very well-established in our culture—but try to get any general agreement on who "the" most "beautiful" woman or (let's be fair to Women's Lib) man is. As for myself, I find my friends tend to agree with me in *general* on literary tastes—but I have yet to find anyone who agrees with me on *everything,* and I don't think I'd want to. Variety is the spice of life. But let me say amen to Hospers on *The Green Wall* and *The Emigrants* while I'm at it—I am especially disappointed that the first literally dropped out of sight without

rudebarbs

RANDALL K HYLKEMA


AHH... IT'S FINE TO SEE THE POPULACE LOLLING ABOUT OF A SUNDAY AFTERNOON.
BUT SENATOR- IT'S NOT SUNDAY- IT'S MONDAY!
THEN WHY IS EVERYONE LOAFING?
WELL, REMEMBER THE MINIMUM WAGE-LAW YOU VOTED FOR?
AH YES - THE WORKERS FREED FROM POVERTY!
AND REMEMBER THAT MAXIMUM WAGE LAW YOU PUSHED?
YES - TO COMBAT INFLATION AND MONEY LUST.
WELL GUESS WHAT...
DON'T TELL ME THE MINIMUM IS GREATER THAN THE MAXIMUM?
RIGHT-O!
WHY MUST THE TYRANNY OF MATHEMATICS ALWAYS INTEFERE WITH... WITH...
THE TYRANNY OF POLITICIANS, EH?

getting the attention it deserved. And for those who think Rachmaninoff is the only "fun" composer of this century, let me recommend Francis Poulenc—witty, satirical and sentimental all in one. Those with romantic tastes ought also to give more credit to other modern "national" composers—Zoltan Kodaly, Heitor Villa-Lobos, and Ralph Vaughan-Williams, to name a few.

John J. Pierce
Berkeley Heights, NJ

ICELANDIC ANARCHISM

Poul Anderson (October), in his remarks on the anarchist society of medieval Iceland, seems to have forgotten something he himself wrote—in a slightly different context—on the very last page of *THE CORRIDORS OF TIME:*

> *. . . where else was life so good as in the first land the world ever saw which was both strong and free?*
>
> *In the end it would go down, before the cruel age of iron. Yet a thousand fortunate years were no small achievement; and the spirit they brought to birth would endure. Through every century to come, the forgotten truth that men had once known generations of gladness must abide and subtly work.*

That freedom, like everything else, does not last forever is the reason we must fight for it, not a reason to stop fighting for it.

T. V. Wolansky
Thiells, NY

LOGICAL FALLACY

It was sad to see Dr. Rothbard descend to the logical fallacy of "Many Questions" in his October column: "Query to our 'limited government' friends: after Watergate, do you *still* revere our rulers? Can you *still* hold that they have superior knowledge or wisdom to make any decisions whatever?" (His italics.) The classic form of that fallacy is of course: "Do you still beat your wife?" He comes remarkably close. I would hate to be the accused in *his* court.

Paul Hodgson
Boulder Heights, CO

MUSIC CRITICISM

Re: the last two letters in September's *REASON.* First of all, Rand has proven nothing as regards music except her own ignorance of the subject. Her "argument" in the article "Art and Cognition" (*THE OBJECTIVIST,* April thru June, 1971) is enough to make a musician laugh (or cry). Instead of her old, analytical self, that article is full of blathering about "one's feelings." *There's a lot more to music than meets the cultural reflex.*

Which brings me to my second point—there *are* ways of objectively analyzing music without being dogmatic. But to understand this, one must learn to speak the musical language. Music is so abstract as to be, like mathematics, irreducible to verbal terms. All I ask is that people like the writers of those letters start *thinking* about music, and, who knows, maybe they'll find themselves agreeing with Dr. Hospers.

Kenneth La Fave
Tucson, AZ

MOTHER OR BIG BROTHER?

After reading extensively (Rand, Hazlitt, Von Mises, Rothbard, etc.), listening to news broadcasts, viewing with alarm the rising crime rates, F.R.B. ontput of paper, and prices, I have decided that *Uncle Sam is an Overprotective Mother,* not a Big Brother. A big brother would have more sense.

If anyone would care to use this phrase (as far as I know, it's my own) for bumperstickers, they are welcome to do so.

If anyone cares to read it with a double meaning—they may feel free to do so. I mean it both ways.

Carole Cleveland
Rossville, IL

MORE EXPOSES, PLEASE

If possible please have Paul Craig Roberts ("Who are the Imperialists?" August 1973) write more articles along the line of his exposure of the Statist policies found in the government of the "underdeveloped" countries.

The dangers of imperialism are not found solely in the U.S. government (as seemingly believed by the left) but are inherent in the very nature of all governments.

Ken Gardner
Drayton, ND

Letters from readers are welcome. They should be kept as brief as possible and are subject to condensation. Send letters to *REASON,* P.O. Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

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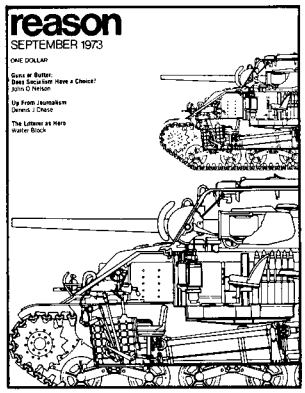

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